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Miscellaneous Tracts.

TEMP. ELIZ. & JAC. I.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have here exactly reproduced the first edition of perhaps the most celebrated puritanical work of the reign of Elizabeth: only two copies of that impression are known, and one of those, we believe, is not quite complete. It came to a second, and altogether different, impression in the middle of August, after its earliest appearance in May; but as in vol. ii, p. 393, of a "Bibliographical Account," &c., a full statement is given of the particulars belonging to the several editions of the "Anatomy of Abuses," it is hardly necessary to repeat it here.

There is no work in our language, or, perhaps, in any language, that gives so minute, and so amusing a view of the manners of all classes at the period when it was published. In 1836 a reprint was issued at Edinburgh of the *fifth* edition of 1585 (mis-called on the title-page the *third*), which is valuable not only for its general accuracy, but as it proves the number and character of the additions made by Stubbes in the course of the two years between May 1583 and October 1585: our first edition is, however, a curiosity from its rarity, and on account of the remarkable passages, and even chapters, it contains, which the author thought fit first to insert, and afterwards to exclude.

We hear of Stubbes as a writer only between 1580 and 1593;

and we may presume, from various circumstances, that he was carried off by the plague, which raged in 1592, and did not abate until the winter of the succeeding year: he had then returned to London, after a journey he had made into the country, some particulars of which he lived to publish in a unique volume, called "A Motive to Good Works," now before us.

We have been so desirous of preserving every word and letter of the original edition of "The Anatomy of Abuses," that we have even inserted the Author's list of *errata*, as it stands in a peculiar form upon his last page. We have not even altered the original references, and in a few instances we have given the trifling mistakes to which they refer, leaving the reader to deal with them as he thinks proper. Our reprint is literally a reproduction.

J. P. C.

THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES:

contayning

A Discoverie, or briefe Summarie, of
such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now
raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the
Worlde, but (especiallie) in a verie famous Ilande called
Ailgna: Together with most fearefull Examples of
Gods Judgements, executed upon the wicked for the
fame, aswell in Ailgna of late, as in other places else-
where.

Verie godly to be read of all true Christians
everie where, but most needefull to be regarded
in Englande.

Made dialogue-wise by PHILLIP STUBBES.

Seene and allowed, according to order.

Math. 3, ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

Luc. 13, ver. 5. I say unto you (saith Christ) except you repent,
you shall all perish.

Printed at London, by Richard
Jones. 1. Maij. 1583.



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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, PHILLIP

Earle of Arundell: Phillip Stubbes wisheth
helth of body & foule, favour of God, in-
crease of Godly honour, reward of laudable
vertue, and eternall felicitie in the
Heavens, by Iesus Christ.

Nobilitas Patrie Decus.

THE Lord our God (right honorable) having by the power of his word, created Heaven and Earth, with all things what soever, for the comfort and use of Man, the last of all other (even the sixth daye) made Man, after his owne similitude and likenesse, that in him he might be glorified above all other creatures. And therefore, whereas in making of other things he used onely this word, *Fiant*, be they made or let them be made, when he came to make Man, as it weare aduysing himselfe and asking counsell at his wisdom, he said *Faciamus Hominem*, let us make Man; that is, a wonderful creature: and therefore is called in greek *Microcosmos*, a litle world in himself. And truly he is no lesse, whether we consider his spirituall foule, or his humaine body. For what creature is there upon the face of the earth comparable to man, either in body or in mind? what creature hath a foule immortall inherent in his body, but onely Man? what creature can foresee things to come, remember things past, or iudge of things present, but onely man? what creature beareth the ymage of God about him, but man? what creature is made so erect to

behold the heavens as man? what creature may be likened to man, either in proportion of body, or gifts of the soule? And (finally) what creature hath the promise of the resurrection and glorification of their bodies, and of eternall life, but onely man? Than, seeing the Lorde hath made man thus glorious, and preferred him in every degree before al other creatures (the angelicall creatures set a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some end and purpose, namely, that he might be glorified in him, and by him above all other his works, according to the measure of his integritie, excellency and perfection. And hereby we may learn that it is the will of God, that we bend all our force to the advauncing of his glorious name, the edification of his people, and the building up of his Church, which he hath redemed with the blood of his deare Sonne.

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured forth unto us in the 25 of Exodus, wher the Lord commaunded Moyfes to build him a tabernacle, or howse of prayer, to this end and purpose (doubtles) that therein his lawe might be read, his ceremonies practised, sacrifices, victimates and holocaustes offred, and his glorious name called uppon and obeyed. To the erection wherof every one conferred some what, some bringing gold, some silver and some brasse, lead and tinne; other brought silk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought some what; namely, skins, heare and lyme, mortar, wood, stone, and such like. Even so (right honorable) would the Lord have every one to conferre some what, even such as he hath, to the building of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchased with the blood of Christ. Wherefore seeing it is so, that every one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power, I

have rather chosen, with the simplest and meanest sort, to bring, though but hayre, sand, skins, lyme, morter, wood, or stones, than altogether to contribute nothing.

Not doubting, but that the chief Maister and Builder of this howse, Christ Jesus, will not dislike, but accept of my poore contribution, no lesse than he did of the poore wydowes mite, to whom was imputed that she had cast more in Gazophilatium Templi, into the treasury of the Temple, than all the rest ; for what she wanted in effect that she supplied in affect. And for that, also, the Lord our God committing his talents to every one, whether more or lesse, not onely requireth of us the same againe simply, but also, as a straight computist, demaundeth interest and gaine of every one of us : and for that not only he is a murdherer and a homicide before God who slayeth or killeth a man with materiall sword, but he also who may prevent the same, and will not. And not onely he is guiltie of haynous transgression that committeth any evill really, but also he that consenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might avoid it, and either for negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therefore, albe it, that I have received but one poore talent, or rather the shadow of one, yet least I might be reproved (with that unprofitable servaunt) for hydyng my small talent in the earth, not profiting therewith at all, either myself or others, I have adventured the making of this litle treatise, (intituled The Anatomy of Abuses) hoping that the same (by divyne assistance) shall somewhat conduce to the building of this spirituall howse of the Lord.

And although I be one (most honorable Lord) that can do least in this Godly course of life (palpable barbarisme forbidding mee so much as once to enter into wyfdomes

school), yet for that some will not, for feare of losing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lose the Kingdome of Heaven), other some dare not for displeasing the world: I say for these, and semblable causes, together with the zeale and good will I beare unto my countrey, and fervent desire of their conversion and amendment, I have taken upponn me the contriving of this book; which God graunt may be with like plausible alacritie received, as with paines and good will I have published it for the benefit of my cuntrey, the pleasure of the godly and the amendment of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and perverse, whose gawld backes are tuted, will repyne against mee, so the godly and vertuous will accept of this my labour and travaile herein, whose gentle favour and goodwill shall counterpoyse (and farre surmount with mee) the malignant stomachs and stearn countenances of the other. After that I had (right honorable) fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, both in regard of the straungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to have suppressed it for ever, for diverse and fundry causes, and never to have offered it to the viewe of the world, but, notwithstanding, being overcome by the importunat request, and insatigable desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as you now see is extant.

But when I had once graunted to imprinte the same, I was in greater doubt than before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the same so rude and impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a patrone of such books as this, which sheweth to every one his sin, and discovereth every mans wicked waies, which indeed the ungodly can not at any hand abyde,

but, as it were, mad-men disgorging their stomacks (*cum in Authorem tum in codicem plenis buccis et dentibus plufquam caninis rabide feruntur*) they rage, they fume, and rayle both againft the author and his booke. Thus (*vacillante animo*) my minde wandering too and fro, and refting, as it weare, in extafie of defpaire, at laft I called to mind your honorable Lordfhip, whose prayfes have pearced the fkyes, and whose laudable vertues are blowen not over the realme of England onely, but even to the furtheft cofts and parts of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayfes, if I should take uppon mee to recounte, I might as well number the ftarres of the fky, or graffe of the earth.

For, for godly wyfdome, and zeale to the truth, is not your good Lordfhip (without offence be it fpoken) comparable with the beft? For fobrietie, affabilitie, and gentle curtefie to every one, farre excelling many.

For your great devotion and compaffion to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: for godly fidelitie to your Sovereigne, love to the cuntrey, and vertues in generall, everie where moft renowned.

But leaft I might obfcure your worthie commendations with my unlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphaticall) I will rather furceafe than further to proceed, contenting my felfe rather to have given a fhadowe of them, than to have ciphred them foorth, which indeed are both infinit and inexplicable.

In confideration whereof, not withftanding that my Booke be fimpler, bafier, and meaner than that it may (without blufhing) present it felf to your good Lordfhip (being farre unworthie of fuch an honorable perfonage) yet, accordinge to your accuftomed clemency, I moft humbly befeache your

good Lordship to receive the fame into your honours patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, service, and good will towardes your honourable Lordship: for prooffe whereof, would God it might once come to passe, that if not otherwyse, yet with my humble service, I might shewe foorth the faithfull and ever willing heart I beare in brest to your Lordeship, protesting before Heaven and earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie and faithfulness faile never.

And because this my booke is subject (my verie good Lord) to as many reproches, tauntes and reproofes as ever was any litle book (for that few can abyde to have their sins detected) therfore I have the greater care to commit the fame to the guidance and defence of your honour, rather than to manie others, not onely for that God hath made your honour a lamp of light unto the world of true nobilitie and of al integritie and perfection, but also hath made you his substitute, or viceregent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and correcte sinne.

And as in mercie he hath given you this power and authoritie, so hath he given you a hungrie desire to accomplish the fame according to his will: which zeal in your sacred brest the Lord increafe for ever.

And as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of maners and amendement of lyfe was never more needfull, for was pride (the chiefeft argument of this booke) ever so rype? Do not both men and women (for the most part) every one in generall go attyred in silks, velvets, damasks, fatins, and what not? which are attyre onely for the nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at anie hand? Are not unlawfull games, playes, and enterluds, and the like every

where used? Is not whoredome, covetousnes, usurie, and the like, daylie practised without all punishment of lawe?

But hereof I say no more, referring the consideration, both of these and the rest, to your godly wyfdome. Beseaching your good Lordship to pardon my presumption in speaking thus much, for (*zelus domini huc adiecit me*) the zeal of my God hath dryven me heather.

Knowledge that the Lord hath ordeined you to himselfe, a chofen vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and set forth in this litle booke.

Thus I cease to molest your sacred eares any further with my rude speeches, most humbly beseaching your good Lordship, not onely to admit this my booke into your honours patronage and defence, but also to persist the just defender thereof against the swynish crew of rayling Zoilus and flowing Momus, with their complices; to whome it is easier to deprave all things, than to amend any thing themselves: which if I shall perceive to be accepted of your honour, besides that I shal not care for a thousand others disliking the same, I shall not only think my self to have received a sufficient guerdon for my paines, and shalbe thereby greatly incoraged (if God permit) hereafter to take in hand some memorable thing to your immortall prayse, honour and renowne; but also shall daylie pray to God for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleasure and your harts desire, with increase of godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the Heavens by Iesus Christ.

Columna gloriæ vertus.

Your Honors to commaund,

PHILLIP Stubbes.

A P R E F A C E

to the Reader.

I THOUGHT it convenient (good reader, who soever thou art that shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply thou mightest take my woords otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: that wheras in the proceffe of this my booke, I have intreated of certain exercyses usually practised amongest us, as namely of playes and enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and such other like, I would not have thee so to take mee, as though my speaches tended to the overthrowe and utter disliking of all kynd of exercyses in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare abuses which are crept into every one of these severall exercyses is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwise (all abuses cut away) who seeth not that some kind of playes, tragedies and enterludes, in their own nature are not onely of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commendable exercyses, being used and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholsome instruction; and may be used, in tyme and place convenient, as conducive to example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our grosse and dull nature, that what thing we see opposite

before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen poet, can witnesse : *Segnius irritant animum dimissa per aures, quam quæ sunt hominum oculis obiecta*. So that when honest and chaste playes, tragedies and enterluds are used to these ends, for the godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the avoyding of that which is evill, and learning of that which is good, than are they very tollerable exercyses. But being used (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his sabaoth, to the alluring and invegling of the people from the blessed word of God preached to theaters and unclean assemblies, to ydlenes, unthriftines, whordome, wantonnes, drunkennes, and what not ; and which is more, when they are used to this end, to maintaine a great sort of ydle persons, doing nothing but playing and loytring, having their lyvings of the sweate of other mens browes, much like unto dronets devouring the sweet honie of the poore labouring bees, than are they exercyses (at no hand) sufferable.

But being used to the ends that I have said, they are not to be disliked of any sober and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not have thee (good reader) to think that I condemne the exercyse it self altogether; for I know the wisest sages, and the godliest fathers and patriarches that ever lived, have now and than used the same, as David, Salomon, and many others : but my woords doo touch and concerne the abuses thereof onely. As being used uppon the sabaoth day, from morning untill night, in publike assemblies and frequencies of people, men and women together, with pyping, fluting, dromming,

and such like inticements to wantonneffe and fin, together with their leapinges, skipplings, and other unchaſt geſtures, not a few : being uſed, or rather abuſed, in this ſort, I utterly diſcommend it.

But uppon the other ſide, being uſed in a mans privat-chamber, or howſe, for his godly ſolace and recreation in the feare of God ; or otherwiſe abroad, with reſpect had to the time, place and perſons, it is in no reſpect to be diſallowed.

And wheras I ſpeake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an exerciſe altogether unlawful. For I know that one Chriſtian may play with another at any kind of godly, honeſt, civile game, or exerciſe, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, ſo that they be not inflamed with covey-touſnes, or deſire of unlawfull gaine ; for the commaundment faith, thou ſhalt not covet : wherfore, if any be voide of theſe affections, playing rather for his godly recreation, than for deſire of filthie lucre, he may uſe the ſame in the feare of God : yet ſo as the uſe therof be not a let or hinderance unto him to any other godly exploit.

But if a man make (as it weare) an occupation of it, ſpending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming houſes, bowling allyes, and ſuch other places, for greedineſſe of lucre, to him it is an exerciſe altogether diſcommendable and unlawfull. Wherfore, as theſe be exerciſes lawfull to them that know how to uſe them in the feare of God, ſo are they practiſes at no hand ſufferable to them that abuſe them, as I have ſhewed. But take away the abuſes, the thinges in themſelves are not evill, being uſed as inſtruments to godlynes, not made as ſpurreſ unto vice. There is nothing ſo good but it may be abuſed, yet

because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselves remooved, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, utterly to be taken away.

And wheras also I have spoken of the excesse in apparell, and of the abuse of the same, as wel in men as in women generally, I wold not be so understood, as though my speeches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of sumptuous or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I suppose them rather ornaments in them, than otherwise.

And that they both may, and, for some respects ought, to were such attire (their birthes, callings, functions, and estats requiring the same) for causes in this my booke laid downe, as may appeare; and for the distinction of them from the inferiour sorte it is provable, both by the Word of God, ancient writers, and common practise of all ages, people and nations from the beginning of the world to this day.

And therfore, when I speake generally of the excesse of apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour sorte onely, who for the most parte do farre surpasse either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in silks, velvets, satens, damasks, taffeties, gold, silver, and what not, with their swards, daggers, and rapiers guilte and reguilte, burnished, and costly engraven, with al things els that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull man doth, or may weare, so as the one cannot easily be discerned from the other.

These be the abuses that I speake of, these be the evils that I lament, and these be the persons that my words doo concerne, as the tenure of my Booke, consideratly wayed, to any indifferent reader doth purport.

This much I thought good (gentle Reader) to informe

thee of, for thy better instruction, as well in these few points,
 as in all other the like, wherfoever they shall chaunce to
 occurre in my booke; beseeching thee to construe al
 things to the best, to beare with the rudenes therof, and
 to give the same thy good-woord and gentle
 acceptaunce. And thus in the
 Lord I bid thee
 farewell.

Thyne to use in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.

PHILLIPPUS STUBEUS

candido lectori.

Offendit nimia te garrulitate libellus
fortè meus, Lector miror id ipse nihil.
Obfusus est etenim verborum colluvione
plusquam vandalica, rebus et insipidis.
Quare si sapias operam ne perdito post hac
nostra legendo, legas utiliora, vale.

Idem in Zoilum.

Zoile cum tanta rabia exardefcis in omnes,
non aliter rabidus, quam solet ipse canis :
Dente Theonino rodens alios, calamoque,
incessens hos, qui nil nocuere tibi :
Vipeream in cunctos vibrans O Zoile linguam,
linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam :
Cum Debacchandi finis fit Zoile nullus,
hora quieta tibi nullaque prætereat :
Cum tumeas veluti ventrosus Zoile bufo,
demiror medius quod minus ipse crepes.

Aliud in eundem.

Dæmones ad tetrum descendat Zoilus antrum,
hunc lacerent furiaë, Cerborus ore voret.
Imprecor at misero quid pænas, cui fatis intus ?
dæmona circumfert pectore namque suo.

Ejusdem aliud.

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber iste videtur
pauca legas, poterit sic liber esse brevis.

A. D. IN COMMENDATION OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS BOOKE.

If mortall-man may challenge prayfe
For any thing done in this lyfe,
Than may our Stubbes, at all assayes,
Injoy the fame withouten stryfe :
Not onely for his godly zeale,
And Christian life accordinglie,
But also for this booke in sale,
Heare present, now before thine eye.
Herein the abuses of these dayes,
As in a glasse thou mayest behold :
Oh ! buy it than ; hear what he sayes,
And give him thanks an hundred fold.

I. F. IN COMMENDATION OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS BOOKE.

Shall men prophane, who toyes have writ,
And wanton pamphlets store,
Which onely tend to noorish vice,
And wickednes the more,
Deserve their praise, and for the fame
Accepted be of all,
And shall not this our author than
Receiue the lawrell pall ?
Who for goodwill in sacred brest
He beares to native foyle,
Hath published this godly booke
With mickle payne and toyle.

Wherein, as in a mirrour pure,
 Thou mayest behold and see
 The vices of the world displayed
 Apparent to thy eye.
 He flattereth none, as most men do,
 In hope to gaine a price ;
 But shewes to all their wickednesse,
 And Gods divyne justice.
 A godlyer booke was never made,
 Nor meeter for these dayes :
 Oh ! read it than, thank God for it ;
 Let th' Autor have his praise.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOKE.

Now having made thee, feelie booke,
 and brought thee to this frame,
 Full loth I am to publish thee,
 lest thou impaire my name.

The Booke.

Why so, good maister ? what's the cause
 why you so loth should be
 To send me forth into the world,
 my fortune for to trye ?

The Author.

This is the cause ; for that I know
 the wicked thou wilt move ;
 And eke because thy ignorance
 is such as none can love.

The Booke.

I doubt not but all godly men
 will love and like mee well;
 And for the other I care not,
 in pride although they swell.

The Author.

Thou art also no lesse in thrall,
 and subiect every way
 To Momus and to Zoilus crew,
 who'le dayly at thee bay.

The Booke.

Though Momus rage and Zoilus carpe,
 I feare them not at all;
 The Lord my God, in whom I trust,
 shall soone cause them to fall.

The Author.

Well, sith thou wouldest so faine be gone,
 I can thee not withhold;
 Adieu, therfore; God be thy speade,
 And bleffe thee a hundred fold.

The Booke.

And you also, good maister mine,
 God bleffe you with his grace;
 Preserve you still, and graunt to you
 In Heaven a dwelling place.

THE ANATOMIE OF THE ABUSES IN AILGNA.

THE INTERLOCUTORS, OR SPEAKERS.

Spudeus, Philoponus.

GOD geve you good morrow, Maister Philoponus.

Philo. And you also, good brother Spudeus.

Spud. I am glad to see you in good health, for it was
bruted abroad every where in our country (by reason of
your discontinuance, I thinke) that you were dead long
agoe.

Flying fame
oftentimes
lyeth.

Philo. In deede, I have spent some tyme abroad, els where
than in my native country (I must needs confesse), but
how false that report is (by whom soever it was first ru-
mored, or how farre so ever it be disperfed) your present
eyes can witnesse.

Spud. I pray you, what course of lyfe have you lead in
your longe absence forth of your owne country?

Philo. Truly (brother) I have lead the life of a poore
travayler in a certaine famous ilande, once named *Ainabla*,
after *Ainatirb*, but now presently called *Ailgna*, wherein I
have lived these seven winters and more, travailing from
place to place, even all the land over indifferently.

The place
where the Au-
thour hath tra-
vayled.

Spud. That was to your no litle charges, I am sure.

Philo. It was so, but what than? I thank God I have

Travailing
chargeable.

atchieved it, and by his dyvine assistance prosperously accomplished it, his glorious name (worthie of all magnificence) bee eternally prayfed therefore.

Spud. And to what ende did you take in hand this great travayle? if I may be so bould as to aske.

The causes
that moved
the Author to
take this tra-
vaile in hand.

Philo. Truly, to see fashions, to acquainte myselfe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my selfe to the world, to learne nurture, good demeanour, and cyvill behaviour; to see the goodly situation of citties, townes, and countreyes, with their prospectes and commodities; and finally to learne the state of all things in generall: all which I could never have learned in one place. For who so sitteth at home, ever commorante or abiding in one place, knoweth nothinge in respecte of him that travayleth abroad: and hee that knoweth nothing is like a brute beaste; but hee that knoweth all things (which thinge none doeth but God alone) hee is a God amongst men. And seeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in every thing els, every man ought to desire that perfection; for in my judgement there is as much difference (almost) betwixt a man that hath travayled much, and him that hath dwelt ever in one place, (in respect of knowledge and science of things) as is between a man lyvinge, and one dead in grave; and therefore I have had a great felicitye in travayling abroad.

The difference
betwixt a man
that hath tra-
vayled, and a
man that hath
not.

Spud. Seing that by divyne providence we are heare met together, let us (untill we come to the end of our purposed journey) use some conference of the state of the world now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyousnes of oure journeye.

Philo. I am very well contente so to doe, being not a litle

glad of your good companie; for *comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo est*, a good companion too travayle withall is instead of a wagon or chariot. For as the one doth ease the painfulnes of the way, so doth the other alleviat the yrkfomnes of the journey intended.

The benefite of a good companion to travayle withall.

Spud. But before I enter combat with you (because I am a country man, rude and unlearned, and you, a cyvilian indued with great wifdome, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly beseech you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke with you somewhat grossly, without eyther polished wordes, or fyled speeches, which your wisdom doth require, and my insufficiencie and inabylitie is not of power to affoorde.

A request to avoid offence.

Phil. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not be offensive to mee, if they be not offensive to God first.

Spud. I pray you what maner of countrey is that Ailgna, where you say you have travailed so much?

Philo. A pleafant and famous iland, immured about by the sea, as it were with a wall, wherein the aire is verie temperate, the ground fertile, and abounding with all things, either necessary to man or needefull for beaft.

Ailgna a goodly cuntry.

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite there?

Philo. A strong kinde of people, audacious, bold, puiffant, and heroycal; of great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incomparable feature, of an excellent complexion, and in all humanitie inferiour to none under the funne.

The people of Ailgna.

Spud. This people, whome God hath thus blessed, must needs bee a very godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate to God, the author of all grace, and of these their blessings especially.

The lives of
the people of
Ailgna.

Philo. It greeveth me to remember their lives, or to make mention of their wayes; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed that lande with the knowledge of his truth above all other landes in the worlde, yet is there not a people more abrupte, wicked, or perverse, living upon the face of the earth.

Spud. From whence spring all these evils in man? for we see everie one is inclined to sin naturally, and there is no flesh which liveth and sinneth not.

From whence
all evils
spring in man.

Philo. All wickednes, mischief, and sinne (doubte you not, brother *Spud.*) springeth of our auncient enemy the devill, the inveterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the originals of all uncleannes and impuritie whatsoever. But we are now newe creatures, and adoptive children, created in Christ Jesus to doe good woorkes, which God hath prepared us to walke in.

We ought to
have no dealing
with the
workes of the
flesh.

Wherefore wee ought to have no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, Christ Jesus, to walke in the newnesse of life, and to worke our salvation in feare and trembling, as the apostle faith; and our Saviour Christ biddeth us so work as our workes may glorifie our heavenly Father. But (alas!) the contrarie is most true; for there is no sinne that was ever broached in any age, which flourisheth not nowe. And therefore the fearefull daie of the Lord cannot be farre off; at which day all the world shall stand in flashing fier, and then shall Christ our Saviour come marching in the cloudes of heaven, with his tarantara founding in each mans care, Arise you dead, and come to judgement! and then shall the Lord reward every man after his own workes. But how little this is esteemed of, and how finally regarded, to consider it greiveth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.

The day of
dome not re-
garded.

Spud. It is but a follie to greeve at them who forowe not for them selves. Let them sinck in their owne sinne: lyve well your selfe, and you shall not answere for them, nor they for you. Is it not written, *unusquisque portabit suum onus*? Every one shall beare his owne burden. *Anima quæ peccaverit, ipsa morietur*: the soule that sinneth shall dy. Wherefore surcease to sorow or greeve any more for them, for they are such as the Lord hath cast of[f] into a reprobate fence, and prejudicate opinion, and preordained to destruction, that his power, his glorie, and justice may appeare to all the world.

Every man
must answer
for him selfe.

Philo. Oh, brother! there is no Christian man in whose heart shineth *scintillula aliqua pietatis*, any sparke of God his grace, which will not grieve to see his brethren and sisters in the Lord, members of the same body, coheires, of the same kingdom, and purchased with one and the same inestimable price of Christ his blood, to runne thus desperately into the gulph of destruction and labyrinth of perdition. If the least and meanest member of the whole body be hurt, wounded, cicatrized, or bruised, doth not the heart and every member of thy body feele the anguish and paine of the grieved parte, seeking and endeavouring them selves, every one in his office and calling, to repaire the same, and never joying untill that he restored again to his former integrity and perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Christian charity, considerably weighed, may move any good man to mourn for their defection, and to assay by all possible means to reduce them home again, that their foules may be saved in the day of the Lord. And the apostle commandeth us, that we be (*alter alterius emolumento*) an ayde and helpe one to another. And that we do good to all men, *dum*

The mutual
harmonie of
one member
with another.

No man born
for himselfe.

tempus habemus, whylest we have tyme. To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and to be of like affection one towards an other. And common reason advertifeth us, that wee are not borne for our selves onelie; for *ortus nostrī partem patria, partem amici, partem parentes vendicant*: our country challengeth a part of our byrth, our brethren and frendes require an other parte, and our parentes (and that *optimo jure*) doe vendicate a third parte: wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discovering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greivousnes of their maladies, and daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to the true phisition and expert chirurgion of their foules, Christ Jesus, of whome onele commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saved.

Spud. Seeing that so many and so haynous finnes do raigne and rage in Ailgna, as your words import, and which moove you to such intestine sorrowe and grieve of minde, I pray you describe unto me more perticularly some of those capitall crimes, and chiefe abuses which are there frequented, and which dishonour the majestie of God the most, as you suppose.

A particular description of Pride, the principall
Abuse; and how manifold it is
in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

You do well to request me to cipher forth unto you parte of those great abuses (and cardinall vices) used in

Ailgna, for no man in anie catalogue, how prolixie foever, is able to comprehend the summe of all abuses there in praetise. And whereas you would haue mee to speake of those capitall or chiefe abuses, which are both deadly in their owne nature, and which offende the maiestie of God moſte, mee thinke you ſhake hands with the ſworne enemies of God, the Papiſtes, who ſay there are two kindes of ſinne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you muſt underſtand that there is not the leaſt ſinne, that is committed, eyther in thought, woorde or deede (yea, *Væ uniuerſæ juſtitie noſtræ, ſi remota miſericordia judicetur* : Wo be to all our righteousnes, if, mercy put away, they ſhould bee judged) but it is damnable, *dempta miſericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be not extended. And againe ; there is no ſinne ſo greivous, which the grace and mercy of God is not able to counter-vaile withal, and if it bee his pleaſure to blot it out for ever. So that you ſee now, there is no ſinn ſo venial, but if the mercie of God be not ſtretched out, it is damnable ; nor yet anie ſinne ſo mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not be done away. And therefore as we are not to preſume of the one, ſo we are not to deſpaire of the other. But to returne againe to the ſatisfying of your requeſt. The greateſt abuſe, which both offendeth God moſte, and is there not a little aduanced, is the execrable ſinne of pride, and exceſſe in apparell, which is there ſo ripe, as the filthie fruits thereof have long ſince preſented themſelves before the throne of the maiestie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and nighte inceſſantly.

Spud. Wherefore have you intended to ſpeak of pride the firſt of all, geving unto it the firſt place in your tractation ?

The number of
abuses infinite.

All ſinne in its
owne nature is
mortall.

The greateſt
abuſe which
offendeth God
moſt is pride.

Because it is evill in it selfe, and the efficiente cause of evill, or for some other purpose?

Pride the beginning of all evill.

Philo. For no other cause but for that I thinke it to bee not onely euill and damnable in its owne nature, but also the verie efficient cause of all evils. And therefore the wise man was bolde to call it *Initium omnium malorum*, the beginning and wellspring of al evils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, and take their beginning, so from the curfed roote of pestiferous pride do all other evils sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therefore may pride be called not improperly, *Matercula et origo omnium vitiorum*, the mother and nurse of al mischief: for what thyng so haynous, what crime so flagitious, what deed so perillous, what attempt so venterous, what enterprife so pernicious, or what thing so offensive to God or hurtful to man in all the world, which man (of himselfe a very Sathanas), to maintain his pride withall, wil not willingly atchieve? hereof wee have too much experience everye day, more is the pittie.

Eccles. 10.

What is it but pride dares attempt it.

Spud. How manyfold is this sin of pride, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his majestie so greevously offended!

Philo. Pride is tripartite; namely, the pryde of the hart, the pride of the mouth, and the pryde of apparell, which (unles I bee deceived) offendeth God more then the other two. For as the pride of the heart and mouth is not opposite to the eye, nor visible to the sight, and therefor intice not others to vanitie and sin (notwithstanding they bee greevous finnes in the sight of God) so the pride of apparel, remaining in sight, as an exemplarie of evill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and sinne.

Pride is threefold: pride of the hart, pride of the mouth, and pride of apparell.

Spud. How is the pride of the hart committed?

Philo. Pride of the hart is perpetrate when as a man lifting him felfe on highe, thinketh of himself above that which he is of himselfe, dreaming a perfection of himselfe, when he is nothing lesse; and in respect of himselfe contemneth, vilifieth, and reproacheth all men, thinking none comparable to him felfe, whose righteousnes, notwithstanding, is like to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therfore the pryde of the heart may bee faide too bee a rebellious elation, or lyftyngge uppe of the mynde agaynste the lawe of God, attriutyng and ascrybyng that unto himselfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, *Qui operatur in nobis velle et posse*, who worketh in us both the wil and power to do good, *ne gloria-retur omnis caro*, leaste anie fleshe should boste of his owne power and strength, yet pride, with his cofin germayn Philautia, which is selfe love, perfwadeth him that he hath neede of no mans helpe but his owne; that he standeth by his own proper strength and power, and by no mans els, and that he is al in all; yea, so perfect and good as no more can be exacted of hym.

What pride of
the hart is.

Philautia.

Spud. How is pride of wordes, or pride of mouth, committed?

Philo. Pride of mouth, or of wordes, is when we boast, bragge, or glorie, eyther of ourselves, our kinred, consanguinitie, byrth, parentage, and suche like: or when we extol our selves for any vertue, sanctimonie of lyfe, sincerytie of godlynes, which eyther is in us, or which we pretend to be in us. In this kinde of pride (as in the other) almost every one offendeth; for shal you not have all (in a maner) boast and vaunt themselves of their auncetors and progenitors? Saying and crying with open mouth, I am a

How pride of
wordes or of
mouth is com-
mitted.

gentleman, I am worshipful, I am honouorable, I am noble, and I can not tell what: my father was this, my father was that: I am come of this houle, and I am come of that. Wheras, dame Nature bryngeth us all into the worlde after one sorte, and recciveth all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the same order and manner, without any difference or diversitie at all; wherof more hereafter shalbe spoken.

Spud. How is pride of apparell committed?

How pride of
apparel is per-
petrate and
committed.

Philo. By wearyng of apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, and precious than our state, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth; wherby we are puffed up into pride, and inforced to thinke of our selves more than we ought, beyng but vile earth, and miserable sinners. And this sinne of apparell (as I have sayde before) hurteth more then the other two; for the sinne of the heart hurteth none but the author in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not forth into exteriour action: and the pride of the mouth (whiche consisteth, as I have sayd, in ostenting and braggyng of some singular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinred, and which he arrogateth to himselfe (by hereditarie possession or lineall dissent) though it be meere ungodly in it owne nature; yet it is not permanent (for wordes fly into the aire, not leaving any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes) but this sinne of exceffe of apparelle remayneth as an example of evyll before our eyes, and as a provocative to sinne, as experience daylye sheweth.

A decorum to
be observed.

Spud. Would you not have men to observe a decencie, a comlineffe, and a decorum in their usuall attyre? Doeth not the worde of God commaund us to do all things *decenter et secundum ordinem civilem*, decently and after a cyvile maner?

Philo. I would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you say, a decorum were observed, as well in attyre as in all things els : but would God the contrarie were not true ; for most of our novell inventions and new fangled fashions rather deforme us then adorne us, disguise us then become us, making us rather to resemble savadge beastes and stearne monsters, then continent, sober, and chaste Christians.

Our apparell
rather deform-
eth than
adorneth us.

Spud. Hathe this contagious infection of pride in apparell infected and poysoned any other countrey beside Ailgna, suppose you ?

Philo. No doubt but this poyson hath shed foorth his influence, and powred foorth his stinking dregges over all the face of the earth ; but yet I am sure there is not any people under the zodiacke of heaven, how clownish, rurall, or brutish soever, that is so poisoned with this arsnecke of pride, or hath drunke so deepe of the dregges of this cup as Ailgna hath ; with grieve of conscience I speake it, with forow I see it, and with teares I lament it.

Spud. But I have heard them saye that other nations passe them for exquisite bravery in apparell : as the Italians, the Athenians, the Spaniards, the Caldeans, Helvetians, Zuitzers, Venetians, Muscovians, and such lyke : now, whither this be true or not I greatly desire to knowe.

No countrey so
drunken with
pride as
Ailgna.

Philo. This is but a visour, or cloke, to hide their sodometrie withall ; onelye spoken, not proved ; forged in the deceitfull mint of their owne braynes ; for (if credit may be given to ancient writers) the Egyptians are said never to have changed their fashion, or altered the forme of their first attire from the beginning to this day : as Jacobus Stuperius, *lib. de diversis nostræ ætatis habilibus*, pag. 16, affirmeth. The Grecians are saide to use but one kynde of apparell without

any chaunge : that is, to wit, a longe gowne reaching downe to the grounde.

The Germaynes are thought to be so precise in observing one uniforme fashion in apparell, as they have never receded from their first origina ; as the said Stuperius sayth in these wordes : *Non enim mores leviter mutare vetustas, Germanus unquam consuevit incola* : whiche in Englysh verse is thus muche in effect :

*The Germayne people never use
lightly to chop and chaunge
Their customes olde, or els attyre,
wherin abroade they range.*

The Muscovians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians, Affricans, Asianes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians, or els what nation soever under the sunne, are so farre behinde the people of Ailgna in exquisitnesse of apparell, as in effect they esteeme it litle or nothyng at all, so it repell the colde and cover their shame ; yea, some of them are so smally addicted therto, that, setting apart all honestie and shame, they go cleane naked. Other some meanly apparelled, some in beasts skinner, some in haire, and what ever they can get : some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding eyther hosen, shoes, bands, ruffles, shirts, or any thing els. And the civilest nations that are bee so farre estraunged from the pride of apparell, that they esteeme him as bravelye attyred that is clothed in our carzies, frizes, ruggs, and other kinds of cloth, as we do him that is clad all over in filkes, velvets, fatens, damasks, gro-grains, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you see that they speak untruly, that say that other nations exceede them

in braverie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other nations under the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly foever they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyverse fashions and fundrie formes of apparell in Ailgna, are most unhandsome, brutish, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no people in the world is so curiouse in new fangles as they of Ailgna be. But graunte it were so, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shall we do evill because they do so? shall their wickednesse excuse us of sinne, if we commit the like and worse? shall not the foule that sinneth dye? Wherefore let us not sinne of presumption with the multitude, because they do so, least we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreover, those cuntreyes are rich and welthie of them selves, abounding with all kind of preciouſe ornaments and riche attyre, as silks, velvets, fatens, damasks, farcenet, taffetie, chamlet, and such like (for al these are made in those foraine cuntreyes), and therefore if they weare them they are not muche to be blamed, as not having anie other kind of cloathing to cover themselves withall. So if wee would contente ourselves with such kinde of attire as our owne countrey doeth minister unto us, it were much tollerable. But wee are so surprised in pride, that if it come not from beyond the seas, it is not worth a straw. And thus we impoverish our selves in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plesant than necessarie, and enrich them, who rather laugh at us in their sleeves than otherwise, to see our great follie in affecting of trifles, and departing with good merchandizes for it. And howe litle they esteeme of silkes, velvets, fatens, damasks, and such like, wee may easely see, in that they sell them to us for wolles, frizes, ruggs, carzies,

Other countreyes not to be blamed though they go in silkes, velvets, and why.

Other countreyes esteeme not so muche silkes, velvets, as we do.

and the lyke, whiche they coulde never doe if they esteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessity to weare such riche attyre, wanting other things (whereof we have store) to invest themselves withall. But who seeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no necessitie compelleth us to weare them, having abundance of other things to attire our selves with, both handsomer, warmer, and as comlie as they in everie respecte? But farre fetched and deare bought is good for ladyes they say.

Spud. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, havinge store of other necessary clothing, to weare silkes, velvets, taffeties, and other suche riche attyre, of what calling soever they be of?

Every man
may weare
apparel ac-
cording to his
callinge.

The nobility
may weare
gorgiouse at-
tire, and why.

Majestrats
may weare
sumptuous
attire, and
why.

Pl. I doubt not but it is lawfull for the potestates, the nobilitie, the gentrie, yeomanrie, and for everye private subjecte els to weare attyre every one in his degree, accordinge as his calling and condition of life requireth; yet a meane is to be kept, for *omne extremum vertitur in vitium*, every extreme is turned into vice. The nobilitye (though they have store of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubt) may use a rich and precoufe kynd of apparell (in the feare of God) to innoble, garnishe, and set forthe their byrthes, dignities, functions, and callings; but for no other respecte they may not in any maner of wyfe. The majestrats also and officers in the weale publique, by what tytle soever they be called (accordinge to their abyilities), may weare (if the prince or superintendent do godly commaund) costlie ornaments and riche attyre, to dignifie their callings, and to demonstrat and shewe forth the excelency and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to strike a terroure and feare into the harts of the people to offend against the

majesty of their callings : but yet would I wish that what is superfluous or overmuch, either in the one or in the other, should be distributed to the helpe of the pore members of Christ Jesus, of whom an infynite number daylie do perishe thorowe want of necessare refection and due sustentation to their bodies. And as for the privat subjects, it is not at any hand lawful that they should weare filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, gould, silver, and what they list (though they be never so able to maintain it), except they, being in some kinde of office in the common wealth, do use it for the dignifying and innobling of the same. But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna, and such preposterous excesse therof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he lust himselfe, or can get by anie kind of meanes. So that it is verie hard to knowe who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not : for you shall have those which are neither of the nobylitie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry ; no, nor yet anie magistrat, or officer in the common welth go daylie in filkes, velvets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, and fervyle by calling. This is a great confusion, and a generall disorder, God be mercifull unto us !

Not lawfull
for private
subjectes to
weare sumptuous
attyre.

Spud. If it be not lawfull for every one to weare filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, gold, silver, preciouſe stones, and what not, wherfore did the Lord make and ordein them ?

Philo. I denie not but they may be worne of them who want other things to cloth them withal, or of the nobylity, gentilytie, or magistrery, for the causes aboveſaid, but not of every proud fixnet indifferentlie, that have store of other

Hard to know
a gentleman
from another
by apparell.

Wherfore the
Lord made
riche ornaments.

Wherto riche
ornamentes do
serve.

attyre inough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane theſe riche ornaments and gorgiouſe veſtments to be worne of all men, or of anie, ſo muche as to garniſh, bewtiſe, and ſet forth the majeſty and glorie of this his earthly kingdome : for as cloth of gold, araſe, tapeſtrie, and ſuch other riche ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a houſe of eſtate ſerve not onely to manuall uſes and ſervile occupations, but alſo to decorate, to bewtiſe, and become the houſe, and to ſhowe the riche eſtate and glorie of the owner ; ſo theſe riche ornaments, and ſumptcouſe veſtments of the earthly territory of this world, do not onelic ſerve to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but alſo to ſhew forth the power, welth, dignity, riches, and glorie of the Lord, the author of all goodneſſe. And here in the providence and mercy of God appeareth moſt plainelye ; for wher there is ſtore of other clothing, there hath he given leſſe ſtore of ſilks, velvets, fatens, damasks, and ſuch like : and wher there is plenty of them there is no clothing els almoſt ; and thus the Lord did deale for that every cuntry ought to contente themſelves with their owne kind of attyre ; except neceſſytye force the contrarie, for than we are to uſe our libertie, in the feare of God.

Spud. I praye you, let mee intreate you to ſhewe mewherefore our apparell was given us, and by whome ?

When, where,
and for what
cauſe our
apparell was
given us.

Philo. Your requeſte is both diffuſe and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend ; yet leaſt I might bee adjudged unwilling to doe good, I will aſſay to doe the beſt I can.

When the Lord our God, a ſpiritual, intellectuall underſtanding ſubſtance, incomprehenſible, immenſurable, and inacceſſible, had, by his woord and heavenly wiſdome, Chriſt

Jefus, created and made the world and all things therin containd, the fixte day he created man after his own fimilitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteoufnes, and all kind of perfection, he placed him in Paradife tereftrial, commaunding him to tyl and manure the fame. Than, the devil, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an angel in heaven, and through fin of pride in arrogating to himfelfe the feate and throne of Gods majesty, caft down into the lake of hell, envying mans glorious eftate, which he than had loft, came unto man in Paradife, and inticed him (oh, torteoufe serpent !) to eat of the forbidden fruite, wherof the Lorde God had forbidden him to taft on pain of his life : notwithstanding Adam, condefcending to his wife her perfwaſions, or rather to the ſerpent, having buzzed his venomous ſuggeſtions into their eares, tooke of the apple and did eat, contrarie to the expreſſe commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei ſaw their nakednes, and were not a litle aſhamed ; (and yet before ſin was committed, they, being both naked, were not aſhamed ; but ſin once committed they became uncleane, filthie, lothſome, and deformed,) and ſewed them garments of fig leaves together, to cover their ſhame withall. Than the Lord, pittying their miſerieand loathing their deformity, gave them pelts and felles of beaſts to make them garments withall, to the end that their ſhamefull parts might leſſe appeare ; yet ſome are ſo braſen faced and ſo impudent that, to make the devill and his members ſport, will not ſticke to make open ſhew of thoſe parts which God commaundeth to be covered, nature willeth to be hid, and honeſty is aſhamd once to behold or looke upon.

The fall of
man by the
malice of the
devill.

Impudent
beaſts.

Spud. I gather by your words three ſpeciall poynts. Firſt,

that sin was the cause why our apparell was given us ; secondly, that God is the author and giver therof ; thirdly, that it was given us to cover our shame withall, and not to feed the insatiable desires of mens wanton and luxurious eies.

Wherfor our
apparell was
geven us.

Philo. Your collection is very true. Than, seeing that our apparel was given us of God to cover our shame, to keep our bodies from cold, and to be as pricks in our eies to put us in mind of our miseries, frailties, imperfections, and sin, of our backeslyding from the commaundements of God and obedience of the higheft, and to excite us the rather to contrition and compunction of the spirit, to bewaile our misery, and to crave mercy at the mercifull hands of God, let us be thankfull to God for them, be sorie for our sinnes (which weare the cause therof,) and use them to the glory of our God, and the benefyte of our bodies and soules, against the great day of the Lord appeare. But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gave us for the respects before rehearsed, we have so perverted as now they serve, in stead of the devills nettes, to catche poore soules in ; for every one now adaies (almost) covet to deck and painte their living sepulchres, or earthly graves (their bodies I meane) with all kind of braverie, what soever can be devised, to delight the eyes of the unchast behoulders, wherby God is dishonored, offence is encreased, and much sinne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

Mens bodies
living sepul-
chres.

Spud. Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not having any thing more precieuse to attyre them withall, or for that it might be a permanent rule, or patern, unto us (his posterity) for ever, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, so as it is not now lawfull to go in richer arraye, without offendinge his majestie ?

Philo. Although the Lord did not cloth them so meanly, for that he had nothing els more preciouſe to attyre them withall, (for *Domini eſt terra, et plenitudo ejus*, the earth is the Lords and the fulneſſe therof, ſaith the Lord by his pſalmiſt; and by his prophet, Gold is myne, ſilver is myne, and all the riches of the world is my own.) yet, no doubt, but he would that this their meane and baſe attyre ſhould be as a rule, or pedagogie, unto us, to teach us that we ought rather to walke meanelye and ſimplye, than gorgiouſly or pompouſly; rather ſerving preſent neceſſitye, than regarding the wanton appetits of our laſciuoſe mindes. Not withſtandinge, I ſuppoſe not that his heavenlye majeſty would that thoſe garments of lether ſhould ſtand as a rule or pattern of neceſſitye unto us, wherafter we ſhould be bound to ſhape all our apparell for ever, or els greivouſlye to offende; but yet by this we may ſee his bleſſed will is, that we ſhould rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a jote above. And that any ſimple covering pleaſeth the godly, ſo that it repell the colde and cover the ſhame, it is more than manifeſt, as well by the legends both of prophane hiſtoryographers, chronologers, and other writers, as alſo by the cenſures, examples, and lyves of all godly ſince the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not that the attyre of Adam ſhould have beene a ſigne or patterne of mediocritie unto us, he both in mercy would and, in his almighty power, could have inveſted them in filks, velvets, fatens, grograins, gold, ſilver, and what not. But the Lord our God foreſawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgiouſe attyre (ſuch is our proclivitye to ſinne) he wold have bene proude therof, as we ſee it is come to paſſe at this day (God amend it), and therby purchaſe to himſelfe, his body and ſoule, eternall damnation.

In our apparell we ought rather to obey neceſſity than to feed vanity.

Adam his mean kind of attire was a ſign of mediocrity unto us in our apparell.

Spud. Than, it seemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance, that we resemble our first parents in austerity and simplicity of apparell, so much as may be possible, doth it not?

No religion
reposed in
apparell.

Philo. I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like simple attyre of our parents Adam and Eva (as our Papists, Papistes? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists Atheists? no, plaine Sathanists do, placing all their religion in hethen garments and Romish raggs) so that we observe a meane and excede not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approched a litle nearer them in godly simplicitie and christian sobrietie, both of apparell and maner of lyvinge, we should not onely please God a great deale the more, and enrichte our cuntrey, but also avoyd many scandals and offences which grow daily by our excessive ryot, and ryotouse excesse in apparell. For doth not the apparell styrre uppe the heart to pride? doth it not intice others to sinne? and doth not sin purchase hell, the guerdon of pride?

The fruite of
pride.

Spud. But they say they please God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouse attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanship in them doth more appeare. Besides that, it maketh a man to be accepted and esteemed of in every place; wheras otherwise they should be nothing lesse.

The Lord ac-
cepteth no
man after his
apparell.

Philo. To think that the Lorde our God is delighted in the splendente shew of outward apparell, or that it setteth forth the glory of his creatures, and the majesty of his kingdom, I suppose there is no man (at least no perfect christian man) so bewitched or affotted: for that weare as much as to say, that stinking pride and filthie sinne tended to the glory of God; so that the more we syn, the more we

increase his prayse and glorye. But the Lord oure God is so farre from delightinge in sinne, that he adjudgeth them to eternall death and damnation that committe the same. Than, who is he that will take pleasure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne will soone rotte or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure wayes, his judgements not our judgements, as he sayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that apparell setteth foorth the glorie of his majestie in his creatures, makynge them to appeare fairer, than other wyfe they would of themselves, it is blasphemously spoken, and much derogateth from the excellency and glory of his name. For faith not God by his prophet Moyse, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, and behould they weare (and especially man, the excellentest of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own similitude and liknesse) excedinge good? And were all creatures good and perfect, and only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If these their speeches were true (which in the fulnesse of their blasphemie they shame not to speake) than might we easily convince the Lord of untrue speaking, who in his sacred word informeth us, that man is the perfectest creature, and the fayrest of al others, that ever he made (excepting the heavenly spirits, and angelical creatures) after his own likenesse, as before. O man! who arte thou, that reasonest with thy Creator? shall the clay say unto the potter, why hast thou made me thus? or can the clay make himselfe better favored than the potter, who gave him his first stamp and proportion? Shall we think that stinking pride can make the workmanshippe of the Lord to seeme fayrer? Than, why did the Lord cloth us so

No attyre can
make the crea-
ture of God
seeme fayrer.

Every one is
not contente
himselfe with
his creation,
and so accuse
God of it.

The Lord our
God is a con-
suming fire to
destroy all
impenitent
sinners.

at the first? or at least, why gave he not commaundement in his will and testament, which he sealed with the price of the bloud of his sonne, to cloth our selves in riche and gorgiouse apparel to fet forth his glory the more? But away with these dogs and hellish hagggs, who retaine this opinion, that curfed pride glorifieth God, and setteth forth or bewtifieth his workmanshippe in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expostulat with them, for doubtles none hould this, but such as be miscreants (or devills incarnate) and men cast of into a reprobate sence, whom I beseech the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy, either speedely to convert that they perish not, or els confounde, that they hurte not, that peace may be uppon Israel. Thus, having sufficiently (I trust) refelled their false positions, I leave them to the Lord, beseeching them (as they tender their own salvation) *linguas compefcere digitis*, to stoppe their sacrilegiouse mouthes with their fingers, and not to spit against heaven, or kicke against the pricke, as they do, anie longer: for the Lord our God is a consuming fier, and upon obstinate sinners shal raine down fire and brimston, and consume them in his wrath. This is our portion acquired by sinne.

Spud. But what say you to the other branch of their conclusion, namely, that apparell maketh them to be accepted, and well taken in every place?

Philo. Amongest the wicked and ignorante pezants, I must needes confesse, they are the more esteemed in respect of their apparell, but nothing at all the more, but rather the lesse, amongest the godly wyfe. So farre off[f] will all wyfe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that be he never so gallantly painted or curiously plumed in the deceitfull fethers of pride) they wil rather contemne

him a great deale the more, taking him to be a man puffed up with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odiouse, and detestable to God and good men. And seeing it cannot stand with the rule of God his justice, to accept, or not to accept, any man for his apparell, or any other externe shew of deceitfull vanytie, it is manifest, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a Judas to the truth, a traytor to justice, and an enemy to the Lord: wherefore farre be that from al good Christians; and if those that go so richely clothed should be esteemed the rather for their rich apparel than *à contrario*, must those that go in meane and base attire be the more contemned, and despised for their povertie. And than, should Christ Jesus, our great Ambassador from the king of heaven, and only Saviour, be contemned, for he came in poore and mean array: but Christ Jesus is blessed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich and precious attyre. Under a simple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wisdom and knowledg; and contrarely, under brave attyre fountime is covered great ydiotacy and folly. Hereof every daies succeffe offreth prooffe sufficient, more is the pytie.

The wise will not accept of any after apparell.

Spud. Wherefore would you have men accepted, if not for apparell?

Wisdom not tyed to exterior pompe of apparell.

Philo. If any be so foolish to ymagin that he shalbe worshipped, reverenced, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not so wyfe as I pray God make me. For surely, for my part, I will rather worshippe and accept of a pore man (in his clowtes and pore raggs) having the gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him that roisteth and plaunteth daylie and howrely in his filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, gold or silver, what foever, without the induments

Reverence due to vertue, not to attyre.

of vertue, wherto only al reverence is due. And therefore as any man is indued, or not indued, with vertue, and true godlynesse, so will I reverence, or not reverence, accept or not accept of him : wherefore if any gape after reverence, worship or acceptation, let them thirst after vertue, as namely, wisdom, knowledge, discretion, modestie, sobriety, affability, gentleness and such like ; than can they be without reverence or acceptation no more than the sunne can be without light, the fire without heat, or the water without his naturall moisture.

Sp. Than I gather, you would have men accepted for vertue and true godlines, would you not ?

Ph. I would not only have men to be accepted and revered for their virtue (though the chiefest reverence is onely to be attributed to him, whose sacred breast fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the *Promptuarie* or *Receptorie* of true wisdom and godlines, but also (in parte) for their byrthes sake, parentage and consanguinitie ; and not only that, but also in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the temporall magistracy, or ecclesiasticall presbitery (so long as they governe godly and well) : for the Apostle sayth, that those elders which governe well amongst us are worthy of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath blessed with vertue and true godlines, though he be neither of great birth nor calling, nor yet any magistrate whatsoever, is worthy of more reverence and estimation then any other without the ornaments of the minde, and gifts of vertue abovesaid. For what prevailieth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of all vertue, which deserveth true worship ? what is it els then to carie a golden sward in a leaden scabbard ? Is it any

Wherefore
man is to be
worshipped
and had in
reverence.

Gentilitie
without vertue
is not genti-
lilie.

thing els then a golden coffyn or painted sepulchre, makyng a fayre showe outwardly, but inwardly is full of stinche and lothsomnes? I remember once I red a certaine storie of one, a gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall disdayned an other, for that he was come to great authoritie onely by vertue, being but a poore mans child by byrthe: What! saith the gentleman by birth, arte thou so lustie? Thou arte but a coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a gentleman by byrth and calling? To whom the other answered, thou arte no gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a gentleman, in that my gentilitie beginneth in me: meaning (unless I be deceived) that the wante of vertue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true gentilitie in him selfe: for vertue therefore, and not for apparell, is everye one to be accepted; for if we should accept of men after apparell onely, respecting nothing els, than shold it come to passe, that we might more esteeme of one, both meane by birth, base without vertue, servyle by calling, and poore in estate, more than of some by birthe noble, by vertue honorable, and by callinge laudable. And the reason is because every one, tagge and ragge, go braver, or at least as brave as those that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

The exordium of vertue is the exordium of gentilitie and worship, and want of the one is the decay of the other.

Spud. But I have hard say, there is more holynesse in some kynd of apparell than in other some; which makes them so much to affect varytie of fashions, I thinke.

Philo. Indeed, I suppose that the summe of their religion doth consist in apparell. And, to speake my conscience, I thinke there is more, or as much, holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, just none at all. But admit that there

No holynes in apparell. be holynesse in apparall (as who is so infatuat to beleve it) that it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them, and so be they plaine hypocrits to make shew of that which they have not. And if the holines by there attire presaged be in them selves, than is it not in the garments; and why do they than attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer so, why do they glory of it to the world? But I leave them to their follie, hastinge to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

Spud. But I have hard them reason thus : That which is good in it own nature cannot hurt ; apparell is good, and the good creature of God : *ergo* no kynde of apparall can hurte And if there be anie abuse in it, the apparell knowethe it not ; therfore take away the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it maye (say they) without anie hurte at all.

The argument
trimly con-
tryved.

Philo. These be well seasoned reasons, and substanciall asseverations in deed ; but if they have no better arguments to leane unto than these, their kingdome of pride will shortlie fall without all hope of recoverie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good, and the good creature of God (I will not denie) and cannot hurte, except it be thorowe ouer owne wickednesse abused. And therfore wo be to them that make the good creatures of God instruments of dampnation to them selves, by not using them, but abusing them. And yet, notwithstanding, it maye be said to hurte, or not to hurte, as it is abused or not abused ; and wheras they would have the abuse of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remain still, it is impossible to supplant the one, without the extirpation of the

other also. For it is truelye said, *sublata causa, tollitur effectus*; but not *subrepto effectu tollitur causa*; take away the cause and the effecte falleth, but not contrarylye, take away the effecte and the cause falleth. The efficiente cause of pride is gorgiouse attyre; the effecte is pride it selfe ingenerate by attyre: but to begin to plucke awaie the effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take awaye the cause first (namelie sumptuouse attyre) is as if a man, intending to supplant a tree by the rootes, should begin to pull the fruite and braunches onelye; or, to pull downe heaven, should dig in the carthe, workinge altogether preposterouslie and indyreclye. And the reason is, these two collaterall cofins, apparell and pride (the mother and daughter of mischiefe) are so combinate together, and incorporate the one in the other, as the one can hardlie be dyvorced from the other, without the distruction of them both. To the accomplismente wherof God graunte that those holtsome laws, sanctiōns, and statuts, which, by our most gracious and serene princeffe (whome Iesus preserve for ever) and her noble and renowned progenitors, have beene promulgate and enacted hertofore, may be put in execution. For, in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to were preciousse apparell and gorgiouse attyre, and not to be proude therof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare suche riche attyre, whereas meaner is both better cheape, easier to be had, as warme to the bodie and as decent and comly to any chaste Christians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in his bosome and not to burne. Therefore, would God every man might be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, estat, and condition of life; which, if it were brought to passe, I feare least some who ruffle now in silks, velvets, satens, damasks, gold, silver, and

Impossible to take away pride, except sumptuous apparell be taken away also.

Apparell and pride combined together as mother and daughter.

Impossible not to be proud of rich attyre.

what not, shold be glad to weare frize cotes, and glad if they might get them.

Spud. What is your opinion? Did the people of the former world so much esteeme of apparell as we doe at this present day, without respect had either to sex, kind, order, degree, estat, or callinge?

The godly
have ever de-
tested pride of
apparell.

Philo. No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections and faults, for *Hominis est errare, labi et decipi*; it is incident to man to err, to fall, and to be deceived. But, notwithstandinge, as the wicked have alwayes affected not onelie pride in apparell, but also all other vices whatsoever, so the chaste, godly, and sober Christians have ever eschewed this excesse of apparell, having a speciall regard to weare suche attyre as might neyther offend the maiestie of God, provoke them selves to pride, nor yet offend any of their brethren in any respecte. But (as I have said) not onely the godly have detested and hated this vaine superfluetie of apparell in all tymes since the beginning of the worlde, but also the verie panims, the heathen philosophers, who knew not God (though otherwise wyse sages and great clarks), have contemned it as a pestiferous evill; in so muche as they have writ (almost) whole volumes against the same, as is to be seene in most of their books yet extant.

The very
hethen have
contemned
sumptuose
apparell.

Spud. Are you able to prove that?

Testimony of
hethen people
who derided
attire.

Philo. That I am, verie easely; but of an infinyte number, take a taste of these few. Democrates beeing demaunded, wherein the bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, consisted? aunswered, In fewnes of speaches well tempered together in virtue, in integrity of life, and suche like. Sophocles, feinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, said to him, Thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a

manifest shewe of thy follie. Socrates, being asked what was the greatestt ornamente in a woman, answered, That which most sheweth her chaſtitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, and not ſumptuouſe attyre, which rather ſheweth her adulterate life. Ariſtotle is ſo diſtrict in this point, that he would have men to uſe meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The wife of Philo, the philoſopher, being uppon a tyme demaunded why ſhe ware not gold, ſilver and preciouſe garments, ſaid, ſhe thought the vertues of her husband ſufficient ornaments for her. Dionifiſius, the king, ſente the richeſt garments of all his wardrobe to the noble women of the Lacedemonians, who returned them from whence they came, ſayinge, they would be a greater ſhame to them than honore. Kinge Pirrus ſent riche attyre to the matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menſtruous clowtes. The conceived opinion amongſt the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor gorgiouſe attyre that adorneth either man or woman, but vertuous conditions, and ſuch like. Diogenes ſo much contemned ſumptuous attyre, that he choſe rather to dwell in wilderneſſe amongſt brute beaſts all his lyfe longe, than in the pompouſe courts of mightie kings one daye to be commorante. For he thought, if he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was faire ynoughe, and fine inough alſo, not needing any more. A certen other philoſopher ad-dreſſed himſelfe towards a kings courte in his philoſophers attyre, that is, in meane, baſe and poore aray; but ſo ſone as the officers eſpied him, they cried, Awake with that rogue! what dothe he ſo nie the kinges majeſties courte? The poore philoſopher, ſeing it lighten ſo faſt, retyred back for feare of their thunder-clappes, and repayringe

Vertue is the
comlyeſt orna-
ment of all.

Diogenes his
ſeverity.

The example
of a philoso-
pher deriding
the pompe of
the world.

The example
of a philoso-
pher who spat
in the kings
face.

home, appaireled himfelse in riche attyre, and came againe marching towards the court : he was no sooner in sight, but every one received him plaufiblie, and with great submission and reverence. When he came in prefence of the kinge, and other mightie potentats, he kneled down, and ceafed not to kiffe his garments. The king and nobles marveylinge not a litle therat, asked him, wherfore he did fo? Who aunfwered, O noble kinge! it is no marveyle; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, my apparell hath brought to paffe: for I, comminge to thy gates in my philosophers weede, was repelled; but having put upon me this riche attyre, I was brought to thy prefence with as great veneration and worship as could be. Wherby is to be feene in what detestation he had the stinkinge pride of apparell, takeing this occasion to give the king to understand the inormious abuse thereof, and so remove the same as a pestilent evill out of his whole dominion and kingdome. I read of a certen other philosopher that came before a king, who, at the same tyme, had invited his nobles to a feast or banquet: the philosopher comming in and feinge no place to spit in (for every place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of silver, tinfell, arrace, tapestrie, and what not) came to the king and spat in his face, faying, It is meet (O king!) that I spit in the fowlest place. This good philosopher (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleasure or delight in the vaine glistering shewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to have confideration of his owne filthynes, miserie and sinne, not ryfing up into pride, and spitting against heaven, as he did, by delighting in prowde attyre and gorgeouse ornaments. Thus we see the verie painims and

heathen people have from the beginning dispyfed this exceffe of apparell, both in them felves and others, whose examples heerin God graunt we may folowe.

Spud. But you are not able to prove that any good Christians ever fet light by precious attyre, but alwayes esteemed it as a speciall ornament to the whole man. As for these heathen, they were fooles, neither is it materiall what they used, or used not.

Philo. I am able to proove that even from the beginning of the world, the chofen and peculiar people of God have contemned proude apparell, as things (not onely) not necessaric, but also as very evilles themselves, and have gone both meanely and poorely in their usuall attyre. What say you to our grandfather Adam, and Eva our mother? Were they not clothed in peltes, and skins of beafts? Was not this a meane kinde of apparell thinke you? Was it not unfitting to see a woman invested all over in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and seemelie ynough for them. What faye you to the noble prophet of the world, Elias? did hee not walke in the solitude of this worlde in a simple playne mantell, or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? Elizeus, the prophet, did he not in a manner the verie same? And what say you to Samuell, the goulden mouthed prophet, notwithstanding that hee was an arch-prophet, and a chiefe seer of that time? Did he not walke so meanely, as Saul, seeking his fathers affes, could not know him from the reste, but asked him, where was the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common fort of people in his time? The children of Israell, beeing the chofen people of God, did they not weare their father's attyre fortie yeeres together in the wildernes?

Probation that
the former
world hath
contemned
pompouse
attyre.

Elias.

Elizeus.

Samuell.

The children
of Israell.

John Baptist. Was not John the Baptist clothed with a garment of camel's
 heare, girded with a thong of the skin of the same, in sted of
 Peter. a girdle or fureinctorie about his loines? Peter, the decre
 apostle of our Saviour, was not distinct from the rest of
 his felowes, apostles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for
 then the maid would not have said, I know thee by thy
 tung, but rather, by thy apparel. The apostle Paul,
 writing to the Hebrues, saith that the persecuted Church,
 bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed some
 in sheep skinnes, and some in gote skinnes, some in camels
 heare, some in this, and some in that, and some in what-
 soever they coulde get; for if it would hide their shame-
 ful parts, and kept them from the colde, they thought
 it sufficient, they required no more. But, to speake in one
 word for all: did not our Saviour Jesus Christ weare the
 very same fashion of apparell that his countrey-men used,
 that is a cote without a seame, either knit or weaved?
 The humility
 and poverty of
 Christe upon
 earth. Which fashions the Palestynians use there yet to this day,
 without any alteration, or chaunge, as it is thought. This
 his attyre was not very handsome (one would think): at the
 least it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; but, as
 the poet well said, *nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque
 negata*, we desire things forbid, and covet things denied us.
 We lothe the simplicitie of Christe, and abhorring the
 christian povertie, and godly mediocritie of our forefathers in
 apparel, are never content except wee have sundry futes of
 apparel, one divers from an other, so as our preffes crack
 withall, our cofers brust, and our backs sweate with the
 cariage therof: we must have one fute for the forenoone,
 another for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the
 night; one for the workeday, another for the holiday, one

for fommer, another for winter ; one of the newe fashion, another of the olde, one of this colour, another of that, one cutte, an other whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, and other of silver, one of filkes and velvets, and another of clothe, with more difference and varietie than I can expresse. God be merciful unto us, and hasten his kingdome, that all imperfections may be doon away !

Superfluitie of
apparell with
diversitie of
fashions.

A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

[*Spud.*] You have borne me in hand of many and greevous abufes reigning in Ailgna, but now (setting aparte these ambagies and superfluous vagaries) I pray you describe unto me more particularly the fundrie abufes in apparell there used ; running over by degrees the whole state thereof, that I maye see, as it were, the perfect anatonie of that nation in apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye desire to knowe.

Philo. Your request seemeth both intricate and harde, considering there bee *Tot tantæ mæryades inventionum*, so manie and so fonde fashions, and inventions of apparell everie day. But yet, lest I might be judged unwilling to shewe you what pleafure I can, I will assay (*pro virili mea, omnibus nervulis undique extensis*), with all the might and force I can, to satisfie your desire. Wherefore to begin first with their hattes.

Sometimes they were them sharp on the crowne, pearking up like a sphere, or shafte of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yarde above the crowne of their heades ; some more, some lesse, as please the phantasies of their mindes. Otherfome be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements of a

The diversify
of hattes in
Ailgna.

The fundrye
things wherof
hattes be
made.

Wering of
hattes without
bandes.

houfe. An other fort have round crownes, sometimes with one kinde of bande, sometime with an other ; nowe blacke, now white, now russet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, never content with one colour or fashion two dayes to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spende the Lorde his treasure, consuming their golden yeares and silver dayes in wickednes and sin. And as the fashions bee rare and straunge, so are the thinges wherof their hattes be made diverse also ; for some are of filke, some of velvet, some of taffetie, some of farcenet, some of wooll ; and which is more curious, some of a certaine kinde of fine haire, far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee sure ; and so common a thinge it is, that everie servingman, countreyman, or other, even all indifferently, do weare of these hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men, if hee have not a velvet or a taffatic hatte, and that muste bee pincked and cunningly carved of the beste fashion ; and good profitable hattes bee they, for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they have. Besides this, of late there is a new fashion of wearing their hattes sprung up amongst them, which they fater upon the Frenchmen, namely to weare them without bandes ; but how unseemelie (I will not say how assy) a fashion that is, let the wise judge. Notwithstanding, howe ever it bee, if it please them, it shall not displease me. Another fort (as phantastlicall as the rest) are content with no kind of hatt without a great bunche of feathers of diverse and fondrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not unlyke (I dare not say) cockscornes, but as sternes of pride and ensignes of vanitie ; and these fluttering sayles and fethered flags of defiance to vertue (for so they are) are so advaunced in Ailgna, that every childe hath them in his hat or cap :

many get good living by dying and felling of them, and not a few prove them selves more then fooles in wearing of them.

Spud. These fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly convince them of instabilitie and folly; for sure I am, handsome they cannot be, therefore badges of pride they must needs be, which I think none will weare, but such as be like them selves. But to your intended discourse.

Philo. They have great and monstrous ruffles, made either of cambrick, holland, lawn, or els some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, wherof some be a quarter of a yarde deep, yea, some more, very few lesse; so that they stand a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging over their shoulder poynts, instead of a vaile. But if Aeolus with her blasts, or Neptune with his stormes chance to hit upon the crasse bark of their brused ruffles, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying abroad, and lye upon their shoulders like the dishecloute of a flut. But wot you what? the devil, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first invented these great ruffles, so hath hee now found out also two great stayes to beare up and maintaine this his kingdome of great ruffles (for the devil is king and prince over all the children of pride): the one arch or pillar wherby his kingdome of great ruffles is underpropped, is a certaine kinde of liquide matter which they call starch, wherein the devill hath willed them to wash and dive his ruffles wel, which, when they be dry, will then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks. The other pillar is a certain device made of wyers, crested for the purpose, whipped over either with gold thred, silver or silk, and this he calleth a supportasse.

Great ruffles
deformed and
ill favored.

Two arches or
pillars to under
proppe the
kingdom of
great ruffles
withall, *vide*
licet support-
assy and
starch.

or underpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks under the ruffe, upon the outside of the band, to beare up the whole frame and body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

Spud. This is a device passing all the devices that ever I saw or heard of. Then I perceive the devill not onely inventeth mischief, but also ordaineth instrumentall meanes to continue the fame. These bands are so chargeable (as I suppose) that but fewe have of them : if they have, they are better monyed then I am.

Every pesant
hath his stately
bands and
monstrouse
ruffes, how
costly foever
they bee.

Philo. So few have them, as almost none is without them ; for every one, how meane or simple foever they be otherwise, will have of them three or foure apeece for sayling. And as though camericke, holland, lawne, and the finest cloth that may bee got any where for money, were not good inough, they have them wrought all over with filke woorke, and peradventure laced with golde and silver, or other costly lace of no small price. And whether they have argente to mayntayne this geare withall, or not, it forceth not muche, for they have it by one meane or other, or els they will eyther sell or morgage their landes (as they have good store) on Suters hill and Stangate hole, with losse of their lyves at Tiburne in a rope.

Spud. The state and condition of that land must needes be miserable, and in tyme growe to great scarcitie and dearth, where is such vayne prodigalitie, and excesse of all thynges used.

The shirts
used in Ailgna.

Philo. Their shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the nobilitie and gentry onely did weare them, it were fomedale more tollerable) are eyther of camericke, holland, lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And all

these kindes of shurts everie one now doth weare alike : so as it may be thoght our forefathers have made their bandes and ruffes (if they had any at all) of groffer cloth and baser stuffe then the worst of our shurtes are made of now a dayes. And these shurts (sometimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with nedle work of filke, and fuche like, and curioullie stitched with open seame, and many other knackes beydes, mo then I can describe.

Spud. These be goodly shurts indeed, and such yet as will not chafe their tender skinner, nor ulcerat their lillye white bodyes ; or if they do, it wil not be much to their greivances, I dare be bound. Is it anie marvell, *si cristas erigant et cornua atollant*, if they stand uppon their pantofles, and hoyse up their sayles on highe, havinge these dyamond shurts on their delicate bodies : but how soever it is, I gather by your words that this must needs be a nice and curious people, who are thus nuffeled up in such daintie attyre.

Philo. It is very true, for this their curiosity, and nicenes in apparell (as it were) transnatureth them, makinge them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide such sharp conflicts and blustering stormes as many other people, both abroad farre from them, and in their confines nie to them, do daylie sustaine. I have hard my father, with other wyse sages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compasse of foure or fyve score yeeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hosen of huswives carzie of the same colore, that the sheep bore them (the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the excessive wering of silks, velvets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, hath and doth make many a thousand in Ailgna as poore

Nicenes of
apparell mak-
eth the body
tender.

Our predeceffors waringe meaner apparell were stronge[r] than we.

mendicants to begge their bread) wherof fome weare ftrait to the thigh, otherfome litle bigger: and when they ware flurts of hempe or flax (but now thefe are to groffe, our tender ftomacks cannot eafilye digeft fuch roughe and crude meates) men weare stronger than we, helthfuller, fayrer complectioned, longer lyvinge, and finallye, ten tymes harder than we, and able to beare out any forowe or paynes whatfoever. For be fure, this pampering of our bodies makes them weker, tenderer and neshier, than otherwyfe they would be, if they were ufed to hardneffe, and more fubject to receive anye kind of infection or maladie; and rather abbreviat our dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our lives one minut of an houre.

Spud. I thinke no leffe; for how stronge men were in tymes paff, how long they lyved, and how helthfull they weare before fuche nicenes, and vayne pamperinge curiofitie was invented, we may reade, and many that lyve at this daye can teftifie. But now, through our fond toyes and nice inventions, we have brought our felves into fuch pufillanimitie and effeminat condition, as we may feeme rather nice dames and yonge gyrles than puiffante agents or manlie men, as our forefathers have bene.

The monftrous dublets in Ailgna.

Philo. Their dublettes are noe leffe monftrous than the reffe; for now the fafhion is to have them hang downe to the middeft of their theighes, or at leaft to their privie members, beeing fo harde-quilted, and stuffed, bombafted and fewed, as they can verie hardly eyther ftoupe downe, or decline them felves to the grounde, foe ftyffe and fturdy they ftand about them.

Now, what handfomnes can be in thefe dublettes whiche ftand on their bellies like, or muche bigger than, a mans

codpeece (fo as their bellies are thicker than all their bo-
dyes befyde) let wyfe men judge ; for for my parte hand-
fomnes in them I fee none, and muche lefs profyte. And to
be plaine, I never faw any weare them, but I fupposed him to
be a man inclined to gourmandice, gluttonie, and fuche like.

Great bellied
dublets betok-
en gourmand-
ice, gluttonie,
and fuch like.

For what may thefe great bellies fignifie els than either
they are fuche, or els are affected that way ? This is the
trueft fignification that I could ever prefage or divyne of
them. And this may everye one judge of them that feeth
them ; for certaine I am there never was any kinde of appa-
rell ever invented that could more difproportion the body
of man than thefe dublets with great bellies, hanging down
beneath their *pudenda* (as I have faid), and stuffed with
four, five or fix pound of bombaft at the leaft. I fay no-
thing of what their dublets be made, fome of faten, taffatie,
filk, grogram, chamlet, gold, filver, and what not ; flafhed,
jagged, cut, carved, pincked and laced with all kinde of
coftly lace of divers and fundry colours, for if I fhoulde
ftand upon thefe particularities, rather time then matter
would be wanting.

Dublettes of
everie fafhion.

Spud. Thefe be the strangeft doublets that ever I heard
of ; and the furdeft from hanfomnes in every refpect, unleffe
I be deceived.

Philo. Then have they hofen, which as they be of divers
fafhions, fo are they of fundry names. Some be called
French-hofe, fome gally-hofe, and fome Venitians. The
French-hofe are of two divers makings, for the common
French-hofe (as they lift to call them) contayneth length
and breadth, and fidenes fufficient, and is made very round.
The other contayneth neither length, breadth nor fidenes
(beeing not pafte a quarter of a yarde fide) wherof fome be

Hofen of
diverfe and
fundry fafh-
ions.

paned, cut and drawne out with costly ornaments, with canions annexed reaching down beneath the knees.

The gally-hofen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece laid down along either hofe. And the Venetian hofen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place of the leg, where they are tyed finely with silk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace, or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of silk, velvet, faten, damask, and other such precious things beside: yea, every one, servingman and other inferiour to them, in every condition wil not sticke to flaunte it out in these kinde of hofen, with all other their apparel futable therunto.

The great ex-
cesse used in
hofen.

In times past kings (as olde historiograpers in their bookes yet extant doe recorde) would not disdaine to weare a paire of hofen of a noble, tenne shillings, or a marke price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound of one paire of breeches. (God be mercifull unto us!)

Spud. This is a wunderfull excesse as ever I hearde of, woorthy with the swoorde of justice rather to be punished, then with paper and pen to be so gentlie confuted.

The diversity
of neither-
stocks worne
in Ailgna.

Philo. Then have they nether-stocks to these gay hofen, not of cloth (though never so fine) for that is thought to base, but of Jarnsey worsted, silk, thred, and such like, or els at the least of the finest yarn that can be, and so curiouslye knit with open seam down the leg, with quirks and clocks about the ankles, and sometime (haply) interlaced with gold or silver threds, as is wonderful to behold. And to

fuch infoleney and outrage it is now growen, that every one (almost) though otherwife verie poor, having scarce fortie shillings of wages by the yeer, will be fure to have two or three paire of these filke neither-stocks, or els of the finest yarne that may be got, though the price of them be a ryall or twentie shillinges or more, as commonly it is ; for how can they be leffe, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royall, and some much more ? The time hath beene when one might have clothed all his body well for leffe than a pair of these neither-stocks wil cost.

Spud. I have feldome heard the like : I think verely that Sathan, prince of darknes and father of pride, is let loofe in the land, els it could never rage as it dooth ; for the like pride (I am fully perswaded) is not used under the sonne of any nation or people how barbarous so ever : wherfore wo be to this age, and thrife accursed be these dayes, which bring foorth fuch fowre frutes ; and unhappie are that people whom Sathan hath so bewitched and captived in sin. *The Lord holde his hand of mercy over us !*

Philo. To these their nether-stocks they have corked shoos, pinsnets, and fine pantoffles, which beare them up a finger or two from the ground ; wherof some be of white leather, some of black, and some of red, some of green, raced, carved, cut, and stitched all over with silk, and laid on with golde, silver, and such like : yet, notwithstanding, to what good uses serve these pantoffles, except it be to wear in a private house, or in a mans chamber to keepe him warme ? (for this is the only use wherto they best serve in my judgement) but to go abroad in them, as they are now used al together, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then otherwise ; for shall he not be faine to knock and spurn at every stone, wall, or

The miserie of
these daies.

Corked shoes,
pantoffles and
pinsnets.

Pantoffles and
slippers are let
to those that
go abroad in
them.

Pantoffles un-
easie to go in.

posse to keep them on his feet? Wherefore, to disclose even the bowels of my judgement unto you, I think they be rather worne abroad for nicenes, then either for any easewhich they bring (for the contrary is moste true), or any handsomnes which is in them. For how should they be easie, when as the heele hangeth an inch or two over the slipper on the ground? Infomuch as I have knowen divers mens legs swel with the same. And handsome how should they be, when as with their flipping and flapping up and down in the dirte they exaggerate a mountain of mire, and gather a heape of clay and baggage together, loding the wearer with importable burthen.

Spud. Those kinde of pantoffles can neither be so handsome, nor yet so warme as other or usuall commom shoes be, I think. Therefore the weringe of them abroad rather importeth a nicenes (as you say) in them that weare them, than bringeth any other commodytie, unlesse I be deceived.

The varytie
of coates and
jerkins.

Philo. Their coates and jerkins, as they be diverse in colors, so they be diverse in fashions; for some be made with colors, some without, some close to the bodie, some loose, covering the whole body downe to the theighe, like baggs or sacks that weare drawen over them, hidinge the dimensions and proportions of the body: some are buttoned downe the brest, some under the arme, and some downe the back; some with flappes over the brest, some without, some with great sleeves, some with small, and some with none at all; some pleated and crested behind and curiously gathered, some not so; and how many dayes (I might say houres, or minuts of houres, in the yeare) so many sortes of apparell some one man will have, and thinketh it good provision in

faire weather to lay up against a storme! But if they would consider that their clothes (except those that they weare upon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poores, they would not heap up their preffes and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to have millions of fundry fortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Jesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothinge? God commaundeth in his law, that there be no miserable poore man, nor begger amongst us, but that every one be provided for and maintained of that abundance which God hath blessed us withal. But we thinke it a great matter if we geve them an old ragged coate, dublet, or paire of hosen, or els a penny or two, wheras not withstanding we flow in abundance of all things. Than we thinke we are halfe way to heaven, and we need to do no more. If we geve them a peace of brown bread, a messe of porredge (nay, the stocks and prison, with whippinge cheare now and than, is the best portion of almes which many gentlemen geve) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a worke of superogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure selves, feeding on many a dainty dish. There is a certen citie in Ailgna called Munidnol, where as the poore lye in the streets upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that to[o], or els in the mire and dirt, as commonlie it is seene, having neither houle to put in their heads, covering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their shame withall, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted to dye in the streets like dogges, or beafts, without anie mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sicke of the plague (as they call it) or any other discafe, their maisters and maistres are so impudent (being,

The poore
ought to be
provided for.

Our final re-
gard to the
poore.

Cold charitie
to the poore.

The Turkish
impietie of
some towards
the poore
diseased.

it should seeme, at a league with Sathan, a covenante with hell, and as it were obliged themselves by obligation to the devil never to have to do with the works of mercy) as straight way thei throw them out of their dores, and so being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streets, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truly, brother, if I had not seen it I would scarcely have thought that the like Turkish cruelty had bene used in all the world. But they say *unus testis occulatus plus valet quam mille auriti*, one eye witnesse is better to be belyved than a thousand eare witnesse besydes. But to leave these excursions, and to returne from whence I have digressed, I think it the best ; for I am perswaded, they will as much respect my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked world did at the preaching of our Saviour Christe Iesus ; that is, just nothing at all.

Spud. Well then, seeing they are suche a stifnecked people, leave them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation.

The sundry
fashions of
cloks.

Philo. They have clokes there also in nothing discrepante from the rest, of dyverse and sundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, russet, purple, violet, and infynite other colors : some of cloth, silk, velvet, taffetie, and such lyke, whereof some be of the Spanish, French, and Dutch fashion : some short, scarcely reachinge to the gyrdlestead, or wast, some to the knee, and other some traylinge upon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes. These clokes must be garded, laced, and thorowly faced ; and somtimes so lyned as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the outside : some have sleeves, other some have none ; some have hoodes to pull over the head, some have none ; some are

hanged with points and taffels of gold, silver, or filk, some without al this But how foever it be, the day hath bene when one might have bought him two clokes for lesse than now he can have one of these clokes made for, they have such store of workmanship bestowed uppon them.

Spud. I am sure they never learned this at the hands of our Proconful, and chief Provost, Christ Jesus, nor of any other that ever lyved godly in the Lord ; but rather out of the deceiptfull forge of their own braines have they drawn this cursed anatomy to their owne destruction in the end, except the[y] repente.

The counting
house of all
evill is the
braine.

Philo. They have also boothose which are to be wondered at ; for they be of the fynest cloth that may be got, yea, fine enough to make any band, ruffe, or shurt needful to be worn : yet this is bad enough to were next their gresie boots. And would God this weare all : but (oh, ply for shame !) they must be wrought all over, from the gartering place upward, with nedle worke, clogged with filk of all colors, with birds, foules, beafts, and antiques purtrayed all over in comlie forte. So that I have knowen the very nedle work of some one payre of these bootehose to stand, some in iiij pound, vi pound, and some in x pound a peece. Besides this, they are made so wyde to draw over all, and so longe to reach up to the waste, that as little, or lesse, clothe would make one a reasonable large shurte. But tush ! this is nothing in comparison of the reste.

The vain ex-
cesse of boe
hosen.

Spud. I would thinke that boote hosen of groffer linnen, or else of wollen clothe, weare both warmer to ride in, as comly as the other, though not so fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for those geugawfes wherwith you say they be blaunched and trimmed, they serve to no end

The varitie of
fashions con-
vince us of
follie.

but to feade the wanton eyes of gazing fools, and pla[i]nly argue the vertiginie, and instability of their more than fantastical brains.

Swords and
daggers gilt
and vernished.

Philo. To these have they their rapiers, swards and daggers, gilt twise or thrise over the hilts, with scabards and sheathes of velvet or the like; for leather, though it be more profittable and as seemely, yet wil it not carie such a porte or countenance like the other. And wil not these golden swards and daggers almost apale a man (though otherwise never so stout a martialist) to have any deling with them? for either to that end they be worne, or els other swards, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and Steele were as hanfom as they, and much more conducible to that end whereto swards and rapiers should serve, namely, for a mans lawful and godly defence against his adverstarie in time of necessitie. But wherfore they be so clogged with gold and silver I know not, nor yet wherto this excesse serveth I see not; but certain I am a great shewe of pride it is, an infallible token of vain glorie, and a greivous offence to God, so prodigallie and licentiouslie to lavish forth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of judgement, when it shall be saide to everie one, *Redde rationem vilicationis tuæ*. Come, give accounts of thy stewardship.

Lucc. 16.

A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens apparell in Ailgna.

Thus havinge given thee a superficiall viewe, or small tast (but not discovered the hundreth part) of the guyfes of Ailgna in mens apparel, and of the abuses contained in the

fame, now I wil, with like celeritie of matter, impart unto thee the guyse and severall abuses of the apparell of women there used also : wherefore, geve attentive care.

Sp. My eares be prest to heare : begin when you wil, and truly herin you shal pleasur me much, for I have greatly desired to know thorowly the state of the land, even *a crepundiis* (as they say) from my tender yeres, for the great prayse I have hard therof. Wherefore, I pray you to proceed in the same, and though I be unable with any benefit to countervail your great pains, yet the Lord, I doubt not, will supplie my want.

Ph. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, and a bountifull rewarder of every one that trusteth in him ; but yet (such is the magnificency and liberalitie of that gentle sex) that I trust I shall not be unrewarded at their hands, if to be called a thousand knaves be a sufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe a corrosive to their hautie stomacks, and a *nippitatum* to their tender breasts to heare their dirtie dregs ript up and cast in their diamond faces, yet hoping that they, seeing the horreur of their impieties, and tragicall abuses laide open to the world (for now they sleep in the grave of oblivion) wil at last, like good convertes and penitentiaries of Christe Jesus, leave of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpose.

The women of Ailgna use to colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, unguentes and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored : but who see the not that their soules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and

Coloring of
faces with
oyntments and
waters.

Adulteration
of the Lord
his workman-
ship in his
creatures.

at whose presence the heavens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his workmanship, and to be without offence? Doo they not know that he is *Zelotipus*, a jealous God, and cannot abide any alteration of his woorkes, otherwise then he hath commaunded?

Yf an artificer or craftsman shoulde make anything belonging to his art or science, and a cobler should presume to correct the same, would not the other think him self abused, and judge him woorthy of reprehension?

And thinkest thou (oh woman!) to escape the judgement of God, who hath fashioned thee to his glory, when thy great, and more than presumptuous, audacitie dareth to alter, and chaunge his woorkmanship in thee?

They that
colour their
faces deny the
Lord of glory
to bee true
God, and so
no God at all.

Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self fairer then God, who made us all? These must needs be their inventions, or els they would never go about to colour their faces with such fibberfawces. And these beeing their inventions, what can derogate more from the majestie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly convince the Lord of untrueth in his word, who faith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the sayrest of all other terrestiall creatures. If he be thus faire, what need they make them sayrer? Therefore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable conjecture may be supposed) that they think them selves not faire enough, and then must God needs be untrue in his woord.

And also they deny the Lord to be either merciful or almightie, or bothe, and so consequently no God at all; for if he could not have made them faire, then is hee not almightie; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God; and so every way they fall into the sinck of

offence, beeing ashamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but it is to be feared least at the day of judgement the Lord wil be ashamed of them, and in his wrath denounce this heaue and inevitable sentence condemnatorie against them: "Depart from mee, you curfed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: I knowe you not: (I say) departe, for you were ashamed of mee, and of my creation in you."

Sentence condemnatory against those that colour their faces.

Spud. Wherof doo they make these waters, and other unctions wherwith they besmeare their faces, can you tel?

Philo. I am not so skilful in their matters of pride, but I holde this for a maxime, that they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded simples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched together, and tempered with many goodly condiments and holfsome confecti-
ons, I warrant you; els you may be sure they would not applye them to their amorous faces, for feare of harming or blemishing the same.

S. Ciprian, amongst all the rest, faith, a woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, sheweth her self to be more then whorish. For (faith hee) shee hath corrupted and defaced (like a filthie strumpet or brothel) the workmanship of God in her: what is this els but to turne trueth into falshood with painting and fibberlawces, wheras the Lord faith, "Thou canst not make one haire white or black." In an other place hee faith, *Qui se pun-
guunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit Deus, metuant ne,
cum dies resurrectionis venerit, artifex creaturam tuam non
recognoscat.* Those which paint or colour them selves in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare, least when the day of judgement commeth, the Lorde wil

Invectives of the Fathers against paynting and colouring of faces.

not know them for his creatures. Againe, *Feminæ crines suos inficiunt malo præfagio, capillos enim flammeos auspicari non metuant.* Whosoever doo color their faces, or their haire, with any unnaturall collour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose faith that from the coullouring of faces spring the inticements to vices, and they which color their faces doo purchase to them selves the blot and stain of chaftitie.

No painting
can make any
to seem fairer,
but fowler.

For what a dotage is it (faith hee) to chaunge thy naturall face which God hath made thee for a painted face, which thou hast made thy self? If thou beest faire, why paintest thou thy self to seeme fairer? and if thou be not faire, why doost thou hippocrittically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing lesse? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his curffe upon their backs for ever, make thee seeme fayrer? I could shew you the sharp invections, and grounded reasons of many moe, as of Augstine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Gregorie, Peter Martyr, Gualter, and of an infinite number moe; yea, of all generally since the beginning of the world, against this whorish and brothellous painting and colouring of faces; but to avoid prolixitie I will omit them, deferring them to further oportunitie, for *pauca sapienti*, to a wiseman few words are sufficient.

Colouring of
faces the devils
net.

Spud. It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coulouring of faces with artificiall colours, and unnaturall oyntments, is moste offensive to God, and derogatorie to his Majestie: for doo they think that the God of all glorie, and who only decketh and adorneth the sun, the moon, the starres, and all the hoast of heaven with unspeakable glorie,

and incomparable beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their sibberfawces? And what are they els then the devils inventions, to intangle poore foules in the nets of perdition?

Philo. Then followeth the trimming and tricking of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frifled and crisped, laid out (a world to see!) on wreathes and borders from one eare to an other. And least it should fall down, it is under propped with forks, wyers, and I can not tel what, rather like grime sterne monsters, then chaste christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolstred hair (for it standeth crested round about their frontiers, and hanging over their faces like pen-dices with glasse windowes on every side) there is layd great wreathes of gold and silver, curiouſlie wrought and cunninglie applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to set foorth their pride withal, at their hayre, thus wreathed and crested, are hanged bugles (I dare not say bables) ouches, rings, gold, silver, glaffes, and such other gewgawes and trinckets besides, which, for that they be innumerable, and I unskilfull in wemens termes, I can not easily recount. But God give them grace to give over these vanities, and studie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue and true godlynesse.

Spud. The apostle Paul (as I remember) commaundeth wemen to cherish their heyre, saying that it is an ornament to them; and therfor me think this abuse of curling and laying it out (if eyther were lawfull) is muche more tollerable than dying their faces.

Philo. If curling, and laying out of their own naturall

Trimming of
their heds.

Simia erit
simia, etiam si
aurea gestat
inſignia.

Laying out of
their haire.

Gold wreathes
circumgyring
the temples of
their heads.

Gewgawes
hanged about
their frontiers.

Curling and
crisping and
laying out of
heyre.

Bought heyre
and colored
used to be
worn.

heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, notwithstanding for it is the ensigne of pride, and the stern of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the lesse matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre, dying it of what color they list themselves: and this they were in the same order as you have heard, as though it weare their owne naturall heir: and uppon the other side, if any have heyre which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into diverse colors, almost chaunginge the substance into accidentes by their dyvelish, and more than thrife cursed devyfes. So, wheras their heire was geven them as a signe of subjection, and therefore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now they have made (as it were) a metamorphosis of it, making it an ornament of pride, and destruction to them selves for ever, except they repent.

Spud. This is a styfnecked people, and a rebellious, I see well, that thus dareth, in everie respecte, to pervert the straight wayes of the Lord, digginge up to themselves cesterms of iniquity, and pittes of adversity, which in th' end, without the great mercy of God, will be their utter confusion.

Capitall orna-
ments for the
head.

Philo. Than, on toppes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true philosophie now and than) stand their other capitall ornaments, as French hood, hat, cap, kercher, and fuche like; wherof some be of velvet, some of taffatie, some (but few) of woll, some of this fashon, some of that, and some of this color, some of that, according to the variable fantasies of their serpentine minds. And to such excesse is it growen as every artificers wyfe (almost) wil not stick to goe in her hat

of velvet everye day, every marchants wyfe and meane gentewoman in her French hood, and everye poore cottagers daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of woll at least, well lined with filk, velvet or taffatie. But how they come by this (so they have it) they care not ; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to them selves and others it dooth bring, they feare not, but runne daylie *a malo ad pejus* (as they say) from one mischiefe to an other, untill they have filled up the mesure of their evill to their owne perdition at that day.

Hattes of
velvets, taf-
faty worn in
common.

They have also other ornaments befydes these to furnishe forth their ingenious heads, which they cal (as I remember) cawles, made netwyfe, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of silver, or els tinfell, (for that is the worst) wherwith their heads are covered and attyred withall underneath their cawles may appeare, and shewe it selfe in the bravest manner. Soe that a man that seethe them (there heads glister and shine in fuche forte) wold thinke them to have golden heads.

Trahit sua
quenque
voluptas.

Cawles made
netwyfe.

Golden heads
fraught with
leaden wit.

Thus lavishe they forth the goods of the Lorde, which are none of their owne (but lent them for a tyme) uppon pride and naughtineffe, delighting (as it seemeth) in nothing so much as in the stincking puddle of vanitie and slime, which will be their owne decay at the last. Another sort of dissolute minions and wanton Sempronians (for I can term them no better) are so far bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, wherat they hang rings, and other jewels of gold and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them I will hould my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of people in the orientall parte of the world (as writers affirme), that are such *philantoi*,

Making holes
in their eares
to hang rings
and jewels by.

A people who
cut their skin
to fet precious
stones in
them selves.

lovers of them selves, and so prowde with all, that, having plenty of precious stones and margarets amongst them, they cut and launce their skinnnes and fleshe, setting therein these precious stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these women weare minded to tread their pathes, and follow their direfull wayes in this curfed kind of unhard of pride, I wonder what they meane.

But because this is not so much frequented amongst women as men, I shall say no more therof, untill further occasion be offred.

Spud. Except it weare a people wedded to the devills eldest daughter Pride (for I thinke chastitie amongst them maye dwell a virgin for any that wil marry her), and given over of God, I never heard the like. I am perswaded neither the libertines, the epicures, nor yet the vile atheists, ever exceeded this people in pride, nor the wickednes of them might ever counterpease with the wickednes of these people: *God be merciful unto them!*

Great ruffles,
neckerchers,
and partlets
used of wo-
men.

Philo. You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able so wel to discribe it, as the eye is to discry it. The women there use great ruffles, and neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerick, and such cloth, as the greatest thred shall not be so bigge as the least haire that is: then, least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the devils liquore, I meane *starch*; after that, dried with great diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed very nicely, and so applied to their goodly necks, and, withall, underpropped with supportaffes (as I tolde you before) the statelie arches of pride: beyond all this they have a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the rest; as, namely, three or foure degrees of minor

Supportaffes
the pillars of
pride.

Minor ruffs.

ruffles, placed *gradatim*, step by step, one beneath another, and all under the maister devil ruffe. The skyrts, then, of these great ruffles are long and side every way, pleted and crested full curiously, God wot. Then, last of all, they are either clogged with golde, silver, or silk lace of stately price, wrought all over with needle work, speckled and sparkled heer and there with the sonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woorke down to the midst of the ruffe and further, some with purled lace so cloyd, and other gew-gawes so pestred, as the ruffe is the least parte of it self. Sometimes they are pinned up to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang over their shoulders, like windmil fayles fluttering in the winde; and thus every one pleaseth her self with her foolish devices, for *suus cuiusque crepitus sibi bene olet*, as the proverb saith: every one thinketh his own wayes best, though they leade to distruction of body and foule, which I wish them to take heed of.

The great
curiosity of
ruffs and
neckerchers.

Spud. As in a camelion are said to be all coulours, save white, so I think in these people are all things els, save vertue and Christian sobrietie. Proteus, that monster, could never chaunge him self into so many fourmes and shapes as these women doo: belike they have made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement with the devil, els they would never outrage thus, without either feare of God or respect to their weak bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

Proteus.

Philo. The women also there have dublets and jerkins, as men have heer, buttoned up the brest, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is for all the world; and though this be a kinde of attire appropriate onely to man, yet they blush not to wear

Women wear-
ing dublets
and jerkins.

it, and if they could as wel chaunge their sex, and put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparel assigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

A curse to
them that
weare contrary
apparell to
their sex.

It is written in the 22 of Deuteronomie, that what man so ever weareth womans apparel is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accursed also. Now, whether they be within the bands and lymits of that curffe, let them see to it them selves. Our apparell was given us as a signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, and therefore one to weare the apparel of another sex is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men.

Hermaphro-
diti.

Spud. I never read nor heard of any people, except drunken with Cyrces cups, or poysoned with the exercisens of Medea, that famous and renoumed forcereffe, that ever woulde weare suche kinde of attire as is not onely stinking before the face of God, offensive to man, but also pointeth out to the whole world the venereous inclination of their corrupt conversation.

The diversity
of gounes.

Philo. There gownes be no lesse famous also ; for some are of silk, some of velvet, some of grogram, some of taffetie, some of scarlet, and some of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie shillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not silke or velvet, then the same shall be layed with lace, two or three fingers broad, all over the gowne, or els the most parte.

Simire in
purpuris.

Or, if not so (as lace is not fine enough sometimes), then it must be garded with great gardes of velvet, four or five

fingers broad at the leaft, and edged with coftly lace ; and as thefe gownes be of divers and fundrie colors, fo are they of divers fashions, changing with the moon, for fome be of the new fafhion, fome of the olde, fome of this fafhion, and fome of that, fome with sleeves hanging down to their skirts, trayling on the ground, and caft over their shoulders, like cow-tayles. Coftly gownes.

Some have sleeves much shorter, cut up the arme, and pointed with filk-ribons very gallantly, tyed with true-looves knottes (for fo they call them).

Some have capes reaching downe to the middest of their backs, faced with velvet, or els with fome fine wrought filk taffatie at the leaft, and fringed about very bravely ; and (to shut up all in a word) fome are pleated and ryveled down the back wonderfully, with more knacks than I can declare. Than have they petticots of the beft cloth that can be bought, and of the faireft dye that can be made. And sometimes they are not of cloth neither, for that is thought to bafe, but of scarlet, grogram, taffatie, filk, and fuche like, fringed about the skirts with filk fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatsoever their petticots be, yet muft they have kirtles (for fo they call them), eyther of filk, velvet, grogram, taffatie, faten, or scarlet, bordered with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what befides. Petticots.

So that when they have all thefe goodly robes uppon them, women seeme to be the fmallest part of themselves, not naturall women, but artificiall women ; not women of flesh and blod, but rather puppits or mawmets of rags and clowtes compact together. So farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the common welth, that every poore yeoman his daughter, every husband man his daughter, and every cot- Kirtles.
Women the least part of themselves.

Poore mens
daughters
exceſſe.

tager his daughter, will not ſpare to flaunt it out in ſuch gownes, petticoats, and kirtles as theſe. And not withſtanding that their parents owe a braſe of hundred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they have it, *quo jure quave injuria*, eyther by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, as they ſay, wherby it commeth to paſſe that one can ſcarſly know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worſhipfull woman from them of the meaner forte.

Parents to
blame.

Spud. Their parents and freinds are muche to be blamed for ſuffering them to go in ſuche wanton attyre. They ſhould not allowe them ſuch large pittance, nor ſuffer them to meaſure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of ſelfe will, and wicked deſires.

The impud-
ency of proud
harlots.

Philo. Than they ſhall be ſure never to have good day with them, for they are ſo impudent that, all be it their poore parents have but one cow, horſe, or ſheep, they wil never let them reſt til they be ſould to maintain them in their braveries, paſt all tongue can tell. And, to ſay truth, ſome parents (worthie to be inaugured with the lawrell crowne of triple follie,) are ſo buxome to their ſhamleſſe deſires, and ſo exorable to their prostitute requeſts, that they graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can deſire themſelves, taking a ſingular felicity and furmouting pleaſure in ſ[e]ing them to go plumed and decked in the feathers of deceitfull vanity.

Our remiſſe
lenitie of pa-
rents to their
children.

Sp. This over great lenitie and remiſſe libertie in the education of youthe, in reſpect of the event and ſucceſſe in the end, maye rather be counted an extrem cruelty, than a fatherly pitie of them towards their children; for what maketh them ſo ſoone whores, ſtrumpets, and bawdes, as cockering of them doth?

What maketh them apt and prone to all kind of naughtinesse but this? Nothing in the world foe much; for give a wild horse the libertie of the head never so little, and he will runne headlonge to thynne and his owne destruction also.

What maketh
whores and
strumpets.

So long as a sprigge, twist, or braunche is yong, it is flexible and bowable to any thing a man can desire; but if we tarry till it be a great tree, it is inflexible and unbowable. If wax be taken whilest it is hote, anye character maye be easelye imprinted, but tarrying till it be hard, it receiveth no printe at all.

So, correct children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them to what good lore you will your selfe; but tarry till they be old, than is it to late, as experience teacheth the daylie.

Philo. Their neitherstockes, in like maner, are either of filke gearnsfey, worsted, crewell, or, at least, of as fyne yarn, thread, or cloth, as is possible to be had, cunningly knit and curiously indented in every point: wherto they have korked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and slippers, some of black velvet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of Spanish leather, and some of English lether, stitched with silk, and imbrodered with gold and silver all over the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which if I should endeavour my selfe to expresse, I might with more facilitye number the sands of the sea, the starres of the skye, or the grasse uppon the earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For weare I never so experte an arithmetician, or mathematician, I weare never capable of the halfe of them, the devill brocheth foe many new fashions every day.

Netherstockes
of gernesfey or
filk.

Corked shooes,
pinsnets, pan-
toffles, and
such like, for
women.

The innumer-
able fashions
of womans
attire.

Wherefore to their Author I leave them, not omittinge to

Pride stinking
before the face
of God.

The having of
civet, musk.

And other
perfumes, a
sweet kind of
pride.

Efai, cap. 3.

Nofegayes and
posies of flow-
ers worn and
caried abroad.

Beware the
Spanish pip.

tell you by the way (as an interim) of a certen kynde of sweete pride used amongst gentlemen and gentlewomen in Ailgna.

Spud. I have learned out of the Booke of God, that all pride is stincking before the face of God; wherfore I greatly desyre to knowe what abortyve miscreant this is, for it is some portentous mishapen monster, I am perswaded.

Philo. Is not this a certen sweete pride to have cyvet, muske, sweete powders, fragrant pomanders, odorous perfumes, and such like, wherof the smel may be felt and perceived, not only over all the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stoncs cast of[f] almost, yea, in bed wherin they have layed their delicate bodies, the places where they have fate, the clothes, and thinges which they have touched shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon. But the prophet Efaias telleth them, instead of their pomaunders, musks, civets, balmes, sweet odours and perfumes, they shall have stench and horreur in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it, and amend their wicked lives.

And in the sommer-time, whilst flowres be greene and fragrant, yee shall not have any gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffle in the countrey, but they will carye in their hande nofegayes and posies of flowres to smell at; and which is more, two or three nofegayes sticked in their brefts before, for what cause I cannot tel, except it be to allure their paramours to catch at them, wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a flabbering kisse, and, peradventure, more freendship besides: they know best what I mean.

Spud. You wil be thought very straight laced to speak against these thinges, for I have heard it said, that these sweet smells are bothe corroborative to the fences, and com-

fortative to the spirits, and which doo vivifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.

Philo. They are so far from comforting the braines, or lightning the spirits of men, that as mystes and exhalations which evaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawen up by the attractive power of the sun, moon, and starres, doo rather obnubilate and darken the beames of the sun, not suffering his radiations to disparte abrode ; so these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours, smells of these musks, cyvets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, and such like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate, darken, and obscure the spirit and senses, then either lighten them, or comfort them any manner of way. But howsoever it falleth out, sure I am they are ensignes of pride, allurements to sinne, and provocations to vice. After all this, when they have attired them selves in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coyneffe in gestures, their minnednes in woords and speeches, their gingerlynes in tripping on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. Their fingers are decked with gold, silver and precious stones, their wristles with bracelets and armlets of gold, and other preciouſe jewels: their hands are covered with their sweet washed gloves, imbrodered with gold, silver, and what not ; and to such abomination is it grown, as they must have their looking glasses caryed with them whersoever they go. And good reason, for els how cold they see the devil in them ? for no doubt they are the devils spectacles to allure us to pride, and consequently to destruction for ever. And above all things they must have their silk scarffes cast about their

These curious
smelles obnubilate the
spirits and
darken the
senses.

Sweet smells
of musks,
civet, and such
like, do annoy
the spirits.

The vain
gestures and
coynes of
women in the
middest of
their pecok
fethers.
Fingers clog-
ged with
rings.
Womens
trinkets.
Sweetened
gloves.
Looking
glasses, the
devills specta-
cles.

Silk skarfes.

A question to
scarfe wearers.Vifors or
invisories of
velvet to ride
abrode in.Suis volunta-
bris verferuntur.

faces, and fluttering in the winde, with great tassels at every end, either of gold, or silver, or silk. But I know wherfor they wil say they weare these scarfes ; namely, to keep them from sun-burning ; but I wold aske these nicelings one question, wherein if they can resolve mee, then I will say, as they say, that scarffes are necessary, and not flags of pride. Can that thing which is moste glorious and fair of it self make any thing foule or ilfavoured ? The sun is a most glorious and fair creature, and therfor cannot make them sowler then they are of their own nature. From whence then is it that the sun burneth them, and altereth their orient colour into woorfer hue ? The cause therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection ; for no more is their sowlness to be ascribed to the stelliferous beames of the glistering sun, then the stench of a dead carcassee may be said to come from the sun, and not rather from it own corruption and filthines. They busie themselves in preserving the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time, and in time is cause of his own corruption, and which, in effect, is nothing els then putrification it self, and a dung-hil covered with white and red, but for the beautie of the foule they care nothing at all. When they use to ride abroad they have invisories, or visors made of velvet, wherwith they cover all their faces, having holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monster or a devil, for face hee can see none, but two brode holes against her eyes with glasses in them. Thus they prophane the name of God, and live in all kinde of voluptuousnes and pleasure, wurffe then ever did the hethen.

Sp. What think you, are not the inventors and first finders out of these new toys and dyvelish devices in great daunger, and partakers with them of the evill committed ?

Philo. It cannot be but the inventors of these new toys are in great daunger before God, as they who shall render accounts to God not only for the invention of them, but also for the evil committed by them. For whosoever is author of any evil must needs answer for the evil. And surely the authors of these newfangles are not unworthy to be canonized faints when the yeere of jubilee commeth (I meane faints of Sathan); for there is no deed so flagitious, no fact so dangerous, nor any thing so hainous, which with alacritie is not plaufibly committed for the maintenance of these divelish toys and devices: and albeit that the persons themselves who offend this way shall dye in their finnes, their owne blood being powred uppon their owne heads, yet the authors of these new toys, wherthorow they offended, shall be guiltie of their deathes, and surely answer for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

Spud. But say they, if I make them not, an other wil, and it is as good for me to make them as an other; and it is my lyving, wherfore I am discharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with sweat of my face, and with travaile and paine to get my lyving.

Philo. We are commaunded, indeed, to get our lyving with the sweat of our face, but how? Not in doing those things which are evill of themselves, and also drawe and intice others to evill, but in things lawful and good, and which induce to goodnesse. And to say others will make them, if I do not, no more excuseth them of offence than for

The first finders and inventors of new fashions are culpable of all the evil that commeth by them.

A vaine excuse.

We are bound to get our lyving in well doing, not in evill doing.

A caveat to
artificers that
invent new
fashions.

a murtherer or thief to say, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, dischargeth him from the penaltie of the judicall lawe to be inflicted against him. Is it lawfull for us to do evill because others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other delyver me from blame, if I commit the same offence? no, nothing lesse. Wherefore let taylers and artificers beware how they eyther invente or make these new devyces and dyvelish fashions every day: and being requested to make them, if they perceive them tende to vice, and allure to sinne, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tendering the salvation of many than the privat commodytie of themselves alone: which thing if every one wold do, he should delyver his own soule, and support an infinit number from falling into the gulphe of sinne; and so in short tyme these new toyes, sond devyces and childish babelries (new fashions I should say) wold soone vanish away and come to naught: which God graunt may once be seene!

Spud. Did the women of the former world attire themselves in fuche forte as these women do?

Philo. The women of the former age, you may be sure, never appareled themselves like one of these. But least you should thinke that the godly onelie lyved thus austerly, you shal heare how little the very hethen and barbarian women have, and do at this present, esteeme of apparell; as Stuporius witnesseth, whose words are these, speking of the Egyptian women: "*Vestimenta sciunt nec nova prestinis mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congrui, quasunque gentes hunc per orbem visitant*"; which may be thus turned into English verse:

*The Egyptian matrones never use
Their fashion of attyre to change,
But ever keep one forme to chuse,
Although they visite nations strange.*

And as all writers doo affirme, all the women there indifferently go with their haire hanging downe, with a broad hat uppon their heads, and other attyre as playne as the rest, so farre are these people from pride, and hunting after strange fashions as our women doo.

The women of Affrica are witnessed, by the same Stuporius, and others to be so farre from affecting strange fashions, or curiosity in a parel, that they cloth themselves, in a manner, all over *ferinis pellibus*, with beasts skinnes, furies, and such like. And this they think so riche attyre, as they use it altogether when they celebrat their festival solemne daies, or when they go abroad to be seene.

The Brasilian women esteeme so litle of apparell also, as they rather chose to go naked (their secret partes onely being covered) then they wold be thought to be proud, or desirouse of such vanities.

The Cantabrian women likewyse, with many others, do the same. In High Germany, the women use in effect one kind of apparel or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other nations delighting in new fangles : yea, the wives there are so far from pride that they will not disdaine to carie all their household stufte, and other trinkets, about with them uppon their backs in tyme of extremitie. These mayds and virgins go very plain, with kerchers only on their heads, their haire hanging downe behinde, in token of virginity.

Thus, you see, every nation, how barbarous soever, are much inferiour to the people of Ailgna in pride and excessse of apparell; and yet these examples I alledge not to the end I wold wish all others to use the same, or the very like brutish kind of auster habite, but to shew how farre they be from pride, and how much the other be wedded to the same. And as for the vertuous, and Godly Christian women, from the beginning of the world they have so litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, and so litle (or rather nothing at al) were they acquainted therewith, as they hunted for nothing els so much as for the ornaments of the mind, as wisdom, continency, chastitie, and true godlynesse, thinking the same bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with sumptuous apparel, and their minds to be naked, and voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold seek after the bewtie of the mind, they wold not affect apparell so much; for if they be faire in body alredy, than need they not gorgeous apparel to make them fairer: and if they be deforme in body, it is not the apparell that can make them fairer. And either their bewtie consisteth in them, or in their apparal: if in them, than not in the apparell, and so it is meere foolery to were them; and if in apparel, than not in them, and so cannot the garments make them fayre whom God and nature hath made otherwise: wherfor look in what shape, forme, or condition, every one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same, without any alteration or chaunge, with praise to his Creator.

Spud. They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so much hateth and detesteth.

Philo. It is verie true that God punisheth the pride of the heart with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he

Pride of the
heart.

will be ferved and ob[c]yed either with the whole man, or els with none. Than, if he puniſh the pride of the heart with everlaſting damnation, he muſt needs (in juſtice) puniſh the pride of apparell with the like, being booth joyned in one predicament of finne, and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world than the other.

Pride of apparel equivalent with pride of the heart.

Alſo it is manifeſt that the pride of apparel riſeth firſt from the corruption of the heart, as the effects from the cauſe, the fruited from the roote of the tree : than, if the pride of the heart which, notwithstanding it hurleth not outwardly, but is ſecret betwixt God and himſelfe, be damnable in its owne nature before God, than muſt it needs be that the pride of apparell (which ſheweth its ſelfe to the world, both offenſive to God, and hurtfull to man, and which alſo is the fruited of the pride of the heart, and throweth almoſt as many as behold it, at leaſt as many as followe it, into the very dungion of hell, is much more pernicious and damnable than the other.

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this finne of pride with any notable torture or puniſhment ever from the beginning of the world unto this day, or hath he omitted the revenge thereof as a thing of ſmall force, or importance ?

Philo. Moſt fearfull plagues and dreadfull judgements of God have in all ages beene powred uppon them that offended herein, as all hiſtories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For prooffe wherof I will geve you a taſte but of a few, wherby may appeare how wonderfully the Lord, in all ages, tymes, kinreds, and peoples, hath puniſhed thoſe that thorow pride (like wicked recusants and backſlyders from God) have rebelled againſt his majeſtic. The devill, who before was an angell in heaven, arrogating to himſelfe the

Examples of
God his
punishments
executed
uppon them
that offended
in pride in all
ages.

imperiall throane of the majesty of God, was cast downe into the depth of hell, burning with fire and sulphur for ever.

Adam, desiring to be a God (for the serpent tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good and evill), was for the sinne of pride throwne downe to the bottome of hell, and not onely he but all his posteritie to the end of the world. The hoast of Core, Dathan, and Abiram, for their exceeding pride in stirring up mutenie, rebelling against their lawfull magistrate, were swallowed up quick into hell, the earth opening her mouth and drowning them, with all their complices whatsoever. The people of Babylon, intending to builde a tower, whose top should tutsche the skye, thinking that if God should drown the world againe with water, they would be sure inough on the toppe of their high turrets; yea, they intending to sit with God himselfe (if need weare) weare all confounded, and a diverse language put into every mans mouth, that none knew what an other spake. And thus were they forced to leave there building, and disperfed themselves abroad uppon the face of the earth, wherof sprang the first diversitie of languages in the world. Wherfore when we heare any language spoken we know not, it may be a memorandum to put us in minde of our pride, which was the cause therof.

A memoran-
dum.

Goliah, the great gyant, the huge Cyclops, and sworne enemy to the children of Israell, for his pride against the Lord was slaine by David, the fait[h]full servant of the Lord.

Antiochus, intending to overthrow and sacke Jerusalem, to spoile the sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride overturned in his chariot, ryding thitherward, his belly brust, and filthy wormes crawled out moste lothsomly; and, in fine, beganne so to stinke

and swell, as neither his servants, nor he himselfe, could abide his owne favoure; and thus ended his lyfe in great miserie and wretchednesse.

Nabuchodonozor was for his pride cast out of his kingdom, and forced to eat grasse with wild beasts in the wildernesse. Nabuchodonozor Daniel 4.

King Saule, for his pride and disobedience, was deposed of his principallitie and kingly regimente, and in the end slewe him self on mounte Gelboe most desperately. K. Saul.

Sodoma and Gomorra were both destroyed with fire and brimstone from heaven for their sin of pride and contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of Noah was drowned with univerfall deluge for pride and contumacy of heart.

King Hezekiah, for his pride in shewing to the Ambassadors of the King of Babylon all his treasure (for he sent messengers unto him with gifte and lettres, congratulatory for the recoverie of his helth) lost all his jewels, treasures, and riches, with his owne sonnes also, being transported captives into Babilon. 2 Reg. c. 25.

K. David, for his pride in numbring the people contrary to the wil of God, was grievously punished, and threescore and ten thousand of his people slaine with a greivous pestilence for the same. Samuel 1, c. 4, vers. 15.

King Pharaos, for his pride against the Lord (for he thought him selfe a God upon the earth, and therefore asked he Moyfes, in derision, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the Red Sea with all his host. The proud Pharisey, justifying him selfe, for his pride was reprov'd of the Lord, and rejected. The proud Pharisey.

King Herode, for attiring himselfe in sumptuous array and not ascribing glory to the Lord, was stricken dead by an Angel, and wormes consumed his flesh immediatly. Herode.

these, with infinit millions moe in al ages, have perished thorow pride, and therefore let not this people think that they shall escape unpunished, who drinke up pride as it weare sweet wyne, feede uppon it as uppon delicious meats, and wallow in it as a filthie fwyne doth in dirtie myre. Will the Lord punish his peculiere people and elect vessels, and let them goo free?

And his places
are prepared if
we repent not.

Wherefore I wold wyshe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of God, who is a consuming fire and a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of judgements are drawn to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, and ready to be powred uppon the contemnners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer; provoke not his wrath, exasperate not his judgements towards thee; for as mercy proceedeth from him, so doth justice also; and, be sure of it, he payeth home at the last. For as in mercie he suffreth no good deed to be unrewarded, so, in his just judgemente, there is no wickednes which he leaveth unpunished. And yet, notwithstanding, their wickednesse and pride is such as stincketh before the face of God, and maketh the enemies to blaspheme and speake evill of the wayes of the Lord: for, say they, the men of Ailgna are wicked and licentious in all their wayes, which easly appeareth in their apparell and new fangled fashions every day invented. The beastly epicures, the drunkards and swilbowles, uppon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxicat with new wine, wil not stick to belch foorth and say, that the inhabitantes of Ailgna go bravelye in apparell, chaunging fashions everie daye, for no cause so much as to delight the eyes of their harlots withall, and to inamoure the mindes of their fleshly paramours. Thus be

Our new
fangles and
tois are occa-
sion why all
nations mock
and floute us.

this people a laughing stock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of God, and to their profession, scandalles to their brethren, a dishonor and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themselves in waisting and consuming their goods and treafures uppon vanyties and trifles.

Our lyving
flaudrous to
the truth.

Spud. Seeing that by diuyn assistance you have now finished your tractation of the apparell of Ailgna, shew me (I pray you) what other abuses be there used; for I am perswaded that pride, the mother of all sinne, is not without her daughters of sinne semblable to her selfe.

The horryble vice of Whordome in Ailgna.

Philo. The horryble vice of whordome also is there too too much frequented to the great dishonor of God, the provoking of his judgements against them, the staining and blemish of their profession, the evill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for ever, excepte they repente.

Whordome in
Ailgna too
rife.

Spud. I have heard them reason, that mutuall coition betwixt man and woman is not so offensive before God; for do not all creatures (say they) as well *reptilia terræ* as *volatilia cali*, the creeping things upon the earth, as the flying creatures in the aire, and all other creatures in generall, both small and great, ingender together? Hath not nature and kynd ordained them so? and geuen them members incident to that use? and doth not the Lord (say they) as with a stimule or prick by his mandat, saing *crecite et multiplicamini et replete terram*: increase, multiply and fill the earth, stirre them up to the same? Otherwyse the world

Vain and un-
godly reasons
pretending
that whor-
dome is no
sinne.

O wicked
lybertines !

would become barren, and soone fall to decay : wherefore they conclude that whordome is a badge of love, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of lustie youth, a frendlie dalliance, a redintegration of love, and an ensigne of vertue, rather meritorious than damnable : these, with the like, be the exceptions which I have hard them many times to object in defence of their carnall pollutions.

The first institution of
matrimonic.

Philo. Curfed be those mouths that thus blaspheme the mightie God of Israell and his sacred word, making the same clokes to cover their sinne withall : worse are they than lybertynes who thinke all things lawfull, or atheistes who denie there is any God. The divells themselves never sinned so horribly nor erred so grossely as these (not Christians, but dogges) do, that make whordom a vertue and meritorious : but because you shal see their deceptions displayed and their damnable abuses more plainly discovered, I will reduce you to the first institution of this godly ordinance of matrimony. The Lord our God, having created all things in heaven, earth or hell whatsoever, created of every sex two, male and female of both kindes ; and last of al other creatures he made man after his own likeneffe and similitude, giving him a woman, made of a ribbe of his own body, to be his companion, and comforter, and lincking them together in the honorable state of venerable wedlocke, he blessed them both, saying *crecite, multiplicamini et replete terram* ; increase, multiplie, and replenish the earth : wherby it is more than apparent that the Lorde, whose name is Jehovah, the mightie God of Israell, is the author of godly matrimony, instituting it in the time of mans innocency in Paradice ; and that, as mee seemeth, for foure causes. First, for the avoydance of whordome ; se-

Marriage instituted for 4
causes.

condly, for the mutuall comforte and consolation that the one might have of the other in all aduerfities and calamities whatfoever: thirdly, for the procreation and godly propagation of children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increafed therby, and the Lord alfo in them glorified. And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our spirituall wedlocke betwixt Chrift and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congreffion, and mutuall copulation of thofe that be thus joyned together in the godlye ftate of bleffed matrimony is pure virginitie, and allowable before God and man, as an action wherto the Lorde hath promifed his bleffing thorow his mercy, not by our merite, *ex opere operato*, as fome fhame not to fay. All other goinges together and coitions are damnable, peftiferous, and execrable. So, now you fee that wheras the Lord faith increafe, multiplie, and fill the earth, he alludeth to thofe that are cheyned together in the godlye ftate of matrimonie and wedlocke, and not otherwyfe: for to thofe that go together after any other forte, he hath denounced his curfe and wrath for evermore, as his alfaving word beareth record. And wheras they fay that all creatures uppon the earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; but how? *in fuo genere*, in their owne kinde. There is no creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationable foever, that dooth degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the fame ftate and order wherein they were made at the firft; and fo if man did, he fhould not commit the abhominable whordome and filthie finne as hee dooth. It is faid of thofe that write *de naturâ animalium*, that (almost) all unreafonable beafts and flying fowles, after they have once linked and united them felves together to

All mutuall
copulation ex-
cept marriage
is unlawfull.

How all
creatures do
goe together in
their kinde.

The fidelitie of
unreaſonable
creatures in
marriage one
towards an
other.

How much
the heathen
have deteſted
whordome.

Sundry pun-
iſhments of
whordome
amongſt the
heathen.

Teſtimonies
out of the
woord of God
wherin whor-
dome is forbid.

any one of the ſame kinde, and after they have once eſpouſed them ſelves the one to the other, wil never after joyne them ſelves with any other, til the one be diſſolved from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot of matrimonie inviolable to the end; and if any one chaunce to revolte, and go together with any other, during the life of his firſt mate, al the reſt of the ſame kind aſſemble together, as it were in a counſel or parliament, and either kil or greevouſly puniſh the adulterer or adultereſſe, whether ever it be; which lawe I would God were amongſt Chriſtians eſtabliſhed. By all which it may appeer how horrible a ſinne whordome is in nature, that the very unreaſonable creatures doo abhorre it. The heathen people, who know not God, ſo much lothe this ſtinking ſinne of whordome that ſome burne them quick, ſome hang them on gibbets, ſome cut off their heds, ſome their armes, legs and hands; ſome put out their eyes, ſome burne them in the face, ſome cut of their noſes, ſome one parte of their bodye, ſome another, and ſome with one kinde of torture, and ſome with another; but none leaveth them unpuniſhed: ſo that we are ſet to ſchoole to learn our firſt rudiments (like yung novices or children ſcarce crept out of the ſhel) how to puniſh whordome even by the unreaſonable creatures, and by the heathen people who are ignorant of the devine goodnes. God me merciful unto us!

Spud. I pray you rehearſe ſome places out of the word of God, wherein this curſed vice of whordome is forbidden, for my better inſtruction.

Philo. Our Saviour Chriſte, in the eight of John, ſpeaking of the woman whom the malicious Jewes had apprehended in adulterie, bad her go her way, and ſin no more. If it had

not been a moſte greivous fin, he would never have bid her to ſin therein no more.

In the fiſt of Mathew he ſaith,*Who ſo luſteth after a woman in his hart, hath committed the fact alreedy, and therfore is guiltie of death for the ſame. To the Pharifeſ,

Mat. 5.

aſking him whether a man might not put away his wife for any occaſion? Chriſte answered, For no cauſe, ſave for whordome onely; inferring that whordome is ſo hainous a ſinne, as for the perpetration therof it ſhalbe lawful for a man to fequeſter him ſelf from his own wife, and the wife from her owne husband. The Apoſtle Paul ſayth, Know you not that your bodyes are the members of Chriſte? Shall I then take the members of Chriſte (ſaith he), and make them the members of an whore? God forbid! knowe yee not that he who coupleth him ſelf with a harlot is become one body with her? Flee fornication (ſaith he), therefore, for every ſinne a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication ſinneth againſt his owne body. And in another place: Knowe you not that your bodyes are the temples of the Holy Ghoſt, which dwelleth within you? And who ſo deſtroyeth the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.

Mat. 19; Mat. 10; Luc. 16.

1 Cor. 6.

In an other place he ſaith: Be not deceived, for neither whoremonger, adulterer, fornicator, inceſtuous perſon, nor ſuch like, ſhall ever enter into the kingdome of heaven. Again, *Conjugium honorabile eſt inter omnes*: mariage is honorable amongſt all men, and the bed undefiled; but whooremongers and adulterers God ſhall judge. In the Revelation of Saint John is it ſaid, that they who were not defiled with women doo waite upon the Lamb, whetherſoever he goeth. The Apoſtle Paul willeth us to be ſo far from fornication, that it be not once named amongſt us, as be-

commeth faints ; with infinit such places, which for breefnes I omit, referring you in the Olde Testament to these and such like places, namely, the 20 of Exodus, 20 of Leviticus, Deutonomie 22, Deutro. 27, 2 Reg. 11, Levit. 18, Exodus 22, Num. 5, Eccl. 9, Pro. 23, 7 verse, 24.

Spud. As you have now prooved by invincible testimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, fo, I pray you, shew me the greivousnes therof by some severe and rare examples of Gods just judgement, executed uppon the same from the beginning.

Punishments
of whordom in
all ages.

Philo. The whole world was destroyed with water, not any living thing left upon the erth (save in the Ark of Noath) for the sin of whordom, incest, and brotherly, used in those daies. Sodoma and Gomora, two famous cities, were consumed with fire and brimstone from heaven for the sin of whordom, adulterie, and fornication. The citie of the Sichemits, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the swoorde for the ravishing of Dina, the daughter of Jacob. The Lord also tolde Abimelech that if he did not let go untouched Sara, Abraham his wife, bothe he and all his housholde should dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorantly. The very same hapned to Isaac. Judas, understanding that his daughter in law was impregnate and great with childe, and not knowing by whom, commanded that she should be burned without any further delay. Was not Abfalon, king David his sonne, plagued all his life for going into his fathers concubines ? And did not Achitophel, who gave counsel so to do, hang himself ? Was not Ruben, the first borne sonne of Jacob, accursed for going up to his fathers bed, and lost he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his primacie, over his bretheren for the same ? Were there not above

Genesis 19;
Genesis 24.

Genesis 26.

Ge. 16.

Ge. 18.

2 Reg. 16.

Ge. 29.

threefcore and five thoufand men flain for the adulterie doon with one Levits wife? Was not king David punifhed all the daies of his life for his adulterie doon with Berfabe, Urias his wife? Was not his fonne Amon, for lying with Thamar, flain? Was not Solomon, beeing perverted with heathen women, caft out of the favour of God, notwithstanding being otherwife the wifeft prince in all the world? Did not Achab, at the perfuafions of Jefabel, his curfed wife, falling to idolatry and worfhiping of idolles and devils, fuffer moſte cruell puniſhment in this life all his dayes, beſide what he ſuffereth now God onely knoweth. Were not the Ifraelite and Madianitiſh woman both flain by that woorthy man Phinees, who ran them both thorow the privy members with his javelin or ſwoord? Was not Sampſon brought to a miſerable end, his eyes beeing bothe put out, and he made to be a laughing ſtock to all men, thorow his too much favouring of wanton women? Was not king Pharao wunderfully plagued but for intending evil in his hart towards Sara, Abraham his wife? Did not the Lord flay (with a moſt greevous mortalitye) foure and twentie thouſand of the Ifraelites in one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the Moabites and Madianits?

Judi. 20.

2 Reg. 13, 12.

3 Reg. 21.

Num. 25.

Jud. 26.

Gene. 12.

By theſe, and ſuch like fearful examples of the juſtice of God powred upon theſe whoremongers and adultrers, we may learn to know the greevouſnes of the ſame, and the puniſhment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the world to come, or els in bothe: for if the Lord deffer the puniſhment of whordome in this life, hee reſerveth it for the world to come, ſuffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil up the meaſure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be juſt. And if the Lord left not

fin unpunished, no, not in his most deer faints, what wil he doo in them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world judge.

Spud. Now am I fully perswaded, by your invincible reasons, that there is no sin greater before the face of God then whoredome; wherefore, *God graunt that all his may avoid it.*

Philo. You have said true, for there is no sinne (almost) comparable unto it; for besides that it bringeth everlasting damnation to all that live therein to the end without repentance, it also bringeth these inconveniences, with many more: *videlicet*, it dimmeth the sight, it impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth the sinewes, it weakeneth the joynts, it exhausteth the marrow, consumeth the moisture and supplement of the body, it riveleth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dulleth the spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth the whole body, it bringeth it into a consumption, it bringeth ulcerations, scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, and biles; it maketh hoare haire and bald pates: it induceth olde age, and, in fine, bringeth death before nature urge it, malady enforce it, or age require it.

Sp. Seeing that whoredome bringeth such foure fauce with it, namely, death everlasting after this life, and so many discommodities besides in this life, I wonder that men dare commit the same so securely as they doo now a dayes.

Philo. It is so little feared in Ailgna, that, until every one hath two or three bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man (for that they call a mans deede); inso much as every scurvie boy of twelve, fourteen, or twenty yeeres of age wil make no conscience of it to have two or three, peradventure half a dosen severall women with childe at once; and this

What evils
whoredome
bringeth to
mans body in
this life.

The small
care to avoid
whoredome in
Ailgna.

exploite beeing doon, he shoves them a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, *Euro velocius*, as quick as a bee (as they say) into some strange place where he is not known, where how he liveth let the wife judge, for, *cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine still. Then, having estraunged them selves thus for a small space, they retorne againe, not to their pristine curfed life, I dare say, but unto their countrey, and then no man may say black is their eye; but all is wel, and they as good Christians as those that suffer them unpunished.

Whormongers
runagates.

Spud. The state and condition of that cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report: it weare much better that everye one had his lawful wife, and every woman her lawfull husband, as the apostle commaundeth, then thus to be drowned in the filthie sin of whordome.

Philo. That is the only salve and soveraine remedy which the Lord ordained against whordome, that those who have not the gift of continencie might mary, and so keep their vessels undefiled to the Lord. But, notwithstanding, in Ailgna there is over great libertye permitted therin; for litle infants, in swadling clowts, are often married by their ambitious parents and frends, when they know neither good nor evill; and this is the origene of much wickednesse, and directlie against the word of God, and examples of the primityve age. And, besydes this, you shall have every fawcy boy of x, xiiij, xvi, or xx yeeres of age to catch up a woman and marie her, without any feare of God at all, or respect had, either to her religion, wisdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any respecte how they

Mariage an
antidotarie
against whor-
dome.

Maring of
infants in
swadling
cloths.

Every boy
snatcheth up a
woman to
wyfe.

maye lyve together with sufficient maintenance for their callings and estat. No, no ; it maketh no matter for these things : so he have his pretie pussie to huggle withall, it forceth not, for that is the only thing he desireth. Than build they up a cotage, though but of elder poals, in every lane end, almost, wher they lyve as beggers al their life. This filleth the land with such store of poore people, that in short tyme (except some caution be provided to prevent the same), it is like to growe to great povertie and scarcenes, which God forbid.

A restraint of
marriage.

Sp. I cannot see how this geare shold be holpen.

Philo. What if a restraint were made that none (except uppon speciall and urgente causes) should marie before they come to xx or xxiiii yeres, or, at the least, before they be xiiii or xviii yeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now there are ?

Sp. But if this were establisht, than should we have more bastards ; and of the two I had rather we had many legitimates than many illegittimates.

How whor-
dome may be
suppressed.

Philo. The occasion of begetting of manye bastards were soon cut of, if the punishment which either God his lawe doth allowe, or els which good pollicy doth constitute, were aggravated and executed uppon the offenders.

The punish-
ment for
whordome
over remisse.

For the punishment appointed for whordome now is so light that they esteeme not of it ; thei feare it not, they make but a jest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an houre or two in a day, having their usuall garments underneth, as commonly they have ? This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punishment, which that vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the acte,

than feare them from it. In so much as I have heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beast that for such white lyvered punishment would abstayne from suche gallant pastyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it suche sweet meate here, shall find the sawce sowre and stiptick enough in hell.

Spud. What punishment would you have inflicted uppon such as commit this horrible kinde of sinne?

Philo. I would wish that the man or woman, who are certenlye knowen, without all scruple or doubte, to have committed the horryble act of whordome, adulterie, incest, or fornication, eyther should drinke a full draught of Moyse cuppe, that is tast present death; or els, if that be thought too severe (for evill men will be more mercifull than the author of mercie him selfe, but in goodnesse fare well mercy) than wold God they might be cauterized and seared with a hote yron on the cheeke, forehead, or some other parte of their bodye that might be seene, to the end the honest and chaste Christians might be discerned from the adulterous children of Sathan. But (alas!) this vice (with the rest) wanteth such due punishment as God his word doth commaunde to be executed theruppon.

What kind of
punishment
whordome
ought to have.

The magistrates wincke at it, or els, as looking thorowe their fingers, they see it, and will not see it.

And therefore the Lorde is forced too take the sword into his owne hands, and to execute punishment him selfe, because the magistrates will not.

For better proof wherof marke this strange and fearful judgement of God shewed upon two adulterous persons there, even the last day in effect, the remembrance wherof is yet green in their heds.

There was a man whose name was W. Ratfurb, being certainly knowen to be a notorious usurer (and yet pretending alway a singular zeale to religion, so that he wold feldom tymes go without a byble about him: but see the judgements of God upon them that will take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyve cleane contrarie, making the word of God a cloke to cover their sinne and naughtynesse withall); who, uppon occasion of busines, visting Lewedirb, a place appointed for the correction of such that be wicked lyvers, saw there a famous whore, but a very proper woman, whom (as is said) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her delyvery from thence, bayled her, and, having put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, using her at his pleasure. Whylest these two members of the devil were playing the vile fodomits together in his chamber, and having a litle pan of coles before them, wherein was a very litle fire, it pleased God, even in his wrath, to strike these two persons dead in a moment. The woman, falling over the pan of coles, was burned, that all her bowels gushed out: the man was found lying by, his cloths in some partes being scorched and burned, and some partes of his body also. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt sleeve and dublet not once perished, nor tucted with the fire. Wherby may be thought, and not without great probabilitie of truth, that it was even the fire of God his wrath from heaven, and not any natural fire from the earth. And in this wonderfull and fearfull maner weare these cupple founde: which God graunt may be a document to all that heare or read the same, to avoyde the like offence, and to all magistrates an example to see the same punished with more severitie, to the glorie of God and their owne discharge.

But so farre are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible sinne, that they get good maintenance with practising the same. For you shall have some, yea many thousands, that live uppon nothing els, and yet go clothed gentlewomanlike both in their silks, and otherwyfe, with their fingers clogged with rings, their wrists with bracelets and jewels, and their purses full of gold and silver. And hereof they make no conscience, so their husbands know it not. Or if they doo, some are such peasants, and such may-cocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not reprove them for it. But if the husband once reprove them for their misdemeavour, than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this cometh to passe because the punishment therof is no extremier, as it ought to be; and some, both gentlemen and others (wherof some I know) are so nussed herein, that having put away their owne wyves, do keepe whores openly. without any great punishment for it; and having beene convented before the magistrery and there beene deposed uppon a booke to put away their whores, have put them forth at one doore, and taken them in at the other.

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe with *rubrum argentum*, wherof they have store to bestowe uppon such wickednesse, but have not a mite to give towards any good purpose.

Wherefore, in the name of God, let all men that have put away their honest wyves be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to taste of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the sword of right judgement; for as long as this immunitie and impunitie is permitted amongst us, let us never looke to please God, but rather provoke

his hevie judgements against us. And the reason is, for that there is no sinne in all the world, but these whores and whoremaisters will willingly attempt and atcheive for the enjoying of their whordome. And hell, destruction and death everlasting is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot be aware of it. The Lord remooove it from all his children, and present them blameles before his tribunall seate, without spotte or wrinckle at that great day of the Lord!

Spud. What memorable thing els have you seen there frequented? for seeing you have begun in parte, I pray you describe the whole.

The Gluttonie and Drunkenneffe in Ailgna.

Daintie fare,
gluttony and
gourmandice
used in Ailg.

Ph. I have seen that which greeveth me to report. The people there are marveilously given to daintie fare, gluttony, bellicheer, and many also to drunkenneffe and gourmandice.

Spud. That is a manifest argument of good hospitalitie, which both is commended in the word of God, and which I know you will not reprehende.

Godly hospitalitie
to be commended.

Ph. Godly hospitalitie is a thing in no wise worthy of reprehension, but rather of great commendation; for many have received angels into their houses, at unawares, by using the same, as Abraham, Lot, Tobias, and many others. Yet if hospitality flow over into superfluitie and riotous excessse, it is not tolerable: for now adaies, if the table be not covered from the one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another, with delicat meats of sundry sorts, one cleane different from an other, and to every dish a severall sawce appropriat to his kinde, it is thought there

Varitie of
dishes and
meats, with
their curious
sawces.

unworthye the name of a dinner. Yea, so many dishes shal you have pesterving the table at once, as the infaciableft Helluo, the devouringest glutton, or the greatest cormorant that is can scarfe eat of every one a litle. And these many shall you have at the first course, as many at the second, and, peradventure, moe in the third, besydes other sweet condyments, and delicat confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these dainties all kind of wyne are not wanting, you may be sure. Oh, what nistie is this! what vanitie, excesse, ryot and superfluitie is heare! Oh, farewell former world! for I have heard my father say that, in his dayes, one dish or two of good wholsome meate was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dyne withall; and if they had three or four kinds it was reputed a sumptuous feast. A good peece of beef was thought than good meat, and able for the best; but now it is thought too grosse, for their tender stomacks are not able to digest such crude and harsh meats: for if they shold (their stomacks being so queasie as they be, and not able to concoct it) they should but evacuat the same againe, as other filthie excrements, their bodies receiving no noorishment therby, or els they should lye stincking in their stomacks, as dirte in a filthie sinck or pryvie. If this be so, I marveile how our fore-fathers lyved, who eat litle els but cold meats, grosse and hard of digesture. Yea, the most of them scad upon graine, corne, roots, pulse, herbs, weeds, and such other baggage, and yet lived longer then wee, helthfuller then we, were of better complection then we, and much stronger then we in every respect: wherfore I cannot perswade my self otherwise, but that our nicenes and curiounes in dyet hath altered our nature, distempered our bo-

Excesse of meats.

The austerity and godly simplicitie of the former world in meats and drincks.

Nice, tender stomacks.

The faraginous or rough fare of our forefathers.

dies, and made us more subject to millions of discrasies and diseases than ever weare our forefathers subject unto, and consequently of shorter life then they.

Our nice fare
hath altered
our bodies and
chaungid our
nature.

Spud. They wil aske you again, wherefore God made such varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what answerere give you to that?

Medietie to be
observed in
meats.

Philo. The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the use of meat and drinks for man to sustaine the fraile, caduke and brittle estate of his mortall body withall for a time; but he gave it him not to delight and wallow therein continually, for as the old adage saith, *Non vivendum ut edamus, sed edendum ut vivamus*: we must not live to eat, but wee must eat to live; we must not swill and ingurgitate our stomacks so full, as no more can be crammed in. The Lord willed that they should be ordinarie meanes to preserve the state of our bodyes a time, whilst we live and sojourn in this vaste wilderness of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to us both of body and soule. And truly they are no lesse when they are taken immoderately without the feare of God. And dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks provoke lust? as Hiero saith, *Venter mero estuans spumat in libidinem*, the belly inflamed with wine bursteth forth in lust. Dooth not lust bring forth sinne, and sin bring forth death? The children of Israel, giving themselves to delicat fare and gluttony, fell to idolatrie, sacriledge and apostasie, worshipping stocks, stones and devils instead of the living God. The sonnes of Hely the Priest, giving themselves to daintie fare and belly-cheere, fell into such sin as the Lord slew them all, and their father also, for that he chastised them not for the same. The children of blessed Job, in midst of

When meats
and drinks are
instruments of
destruction
unto us.

Ge. 24.

1 Reg. 2.

all their banquetings and ryot, were slain by the Lord, the whole house falling upon them, and destroying them most pitifully. Balthasar, king of the Chaldeans, in midst of all his good cheer, saw a hand writing upon the wall these words, *mene techel upharfin*, signifying that his kingdome should

Daniel 5,
verse 5.

be taken from him; and so it was, and he slain the same night by the hand of the Lord. The rich glutton in the Gospel, for his riotous feasting and preposterous living, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our father Adam, with all

Luc. 16.

his offspring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to satisfy his glotonous desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefest canons wherewith

Mat. 4.

the devil assailed Christe, thinking thereby to batter his kingdome and to win the field for ever; yet notwithstanding the greivousnes heerof, the same is thought to be a countenance and a credit to a man in Ailg. But true hospitality consisteth not in many dishes, nor in sundry sorts of meats (the substance wherof is chaunged almoste into accidents thorow their curious cookries, and which doo help to rot the bodies and shorten their daies) but rather in giving liberally to the poor and indigent members of Jesus Christe, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, and such other necessaries wherof they stand in need.

Wherin hos-
pitalitie
consisteth.

But such is their hospitality, that the poor have the least part of it: you shall have 20, 40, 60, yea a C *li.* spent in one house in banqueting and feasting, yet the poor shall have little or nothing: if they have any thing, it is but the refuge meat, scraps and patrings, such as a dog would scarce eat somtimes, and wel if they can get that too: insted wherof, not a few have whipping cheer to feed them withall. It is counted but a smal matter for a man that can scarce lie dif-

The small
relief to the
poore.

Locking up of
gates when
meat is stir-
ring.

Three devour-
ing cankers.

Who more
subject to
infirmities
then they that
fare best?

pend fortie pound by the yeer, to bestow against one time, ten or twentie pound therof in spices. And truely so long and greivously hath this excesse of gluttonie and daintie fare surfetted in Ailgna, as I feare mee, it will spue out many of his maisters out of dores before it be long. But as some be over largeous, so other some are spare enough; for when any meat is stirring then lock they up their gates, that no man may come in. An other forte have so many houses that they visit them once in vii yeer; many chimnies but little smoke; faire houses, but small hospitalitie. And to be plaine, there are three cankers, which, in proceffe of time, will eat up the whole common welth, if speedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie fare, gorgious buildings, and sumptuous apparel; which three abuses, especially, yet not without their cosin germanes, doo flourish there. God remoove them thence, for his Christes sake.

Spud. I had thought that dainty fare and good cheer both norished the body perfectly, and also prolonged life; and dooth it not, think you?

Philo. Experience, as [by] my former intimations you may gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is sicklier then they that fare deliciously every day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wurffe, who is weaker and feebler then they? who hath more filthie colour, flegme, and putrefaction (repleat with grosse humors) then they? and, to be brief, who dyeth sooner then they? Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof some is made of rye, barlie, peafon, beans, oates, and such other grosse graines) and drinketh finall drink, yea, sometimes water, feedeth upon milk, butter, and cheefe; (I say) doo wee not see such a one helthfuller, stronger, and longer living then the other that

fare daintily every day? And how should it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of divers and fundry kindes of meats, of divers operations and qualities (at one meale) engender distemperance in the bodie? And the body distempered wil it not fall into fundry defeases? one meat is of hard digef-
ture, another of light; and whilst the meat of hard digef-
ture is in concocting, the other meat of light digef-
ture dooth putrifie and stink: and this is the very mother of all diseases. One is of this qualitie, another of that; one is of this operation, another of that; one kind of meat is good for this thing, another is naught for that. Then, how can all these contrarieties and discrepances agree together in one body at one and the same time? Wil not one contrary impugne his contrary? one enemy resist an other? Then, what wise man is he that wil receive all these enemies into the castle of his body at one time? Doo we not see, by experience, that they that give themselves to dainty fare and sweet meats are never in helth? Dooth not their sight wax dim, their eares hard of hering, their teeth rot and fall out? dooth not their breth stink, their stomack belch forth filthy humors, and their memory decay? Doo not their spirits and senses become hevie and dul by reason of exhalations and impure vapors, which rise in their gingered breasts and spiced stomacks? and, fuming up to the hed, they mortifie the vitall spirits and intellectuall powers. Dooth not the whole body become purfie and corpulent, yea, somtimes decrepit therewith, and ful of all filthy corruption? The Lord keep his chosen from tasting therof.

Sp. You spake of drunkenenes, what say you of yt?

Phi. I say it is a horrible vice, and too too much used in Ail. Every cuntrey, citie, towne, village, or other, hath

The speedy decay of those that geve themselves to daintie fare.

The beastly
vice of drunk-
enes frequent-
ed in Ailg.

The spirite of
the buttry is
drunknes and
exceffe.

The lothfom
qualities of
those that be
drunke.

The transfi-
guration of
those that be
drunke.

abundance of alehouses, taverns, and innes, which are so fraughted with mault-wormes, night and day, that you would wunder to see them. You shal have them there sitting at the wine and good ale all the day long, yea, all the night too, peradventure a whole week together, so long as any mony is left ; swilling, gulling, and carowling from one to an other, til never a one can speak a redy woord. Then, when with the spirit of the buttry they are thus possessed, a world it is to consider their gestures and demenors, how they stut and stammer, stagger and reele to and fro like madmen ; some vomiting, spewing, and disgorging their filthie stomacks ; other some (*honor sit auribus*) pissing under the boord as they sit, and which is horrible, some fall to swering, cursing, and banning, interlacing their speeches with curious taerms of blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God and offence of the godly eares present.

Sp. But they wil say, that God ordained wines and strong drinks to cheer the heart and to sustain the body ; therefore it is lawful to use them to that end.

Philo. Meats (moderatly taken) corroborate the body, refresh the arteries, and revive the spirits, making them after every member to doo his office as God hath appointed ; but being immoderatly taken (as commonly they be) they are instruments of damnation to the abusers of the same, and noorish not the body but corrupt it rather, and casteth it into a world of defeases. And a man once drunke with wine or strong drink rather refembleth a brute beaste then a Christian man ; for doo not his eies begin to stare and to be red, fiery and blered, blubbering foorth seas of teares ? Dooth he not frothe and some at the mouth like a bore ? dooth not his tung falter and stammer in his mouth ? dooth

not his hed seeme as hevie as a milstone, he not being able to bear it up? Are not his wits and spirits, as it were, drowned? Is not his understanding altogether decayed? doo not his hands, and all his body, quiver and shake, as it were, with a quotidian fever? Besides these it casteth him into a dropsie or pluresie nothing so soon; it infeebleth the sinewes, it weakeneth the natural strength, it corrupteth the blood, it dissolveth the whole man at the length, and finally maketh him forgetful of himself altogether, so that what he dooth being drunk he remembreth not being sober. The drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, revileth his lover, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either expelleth all feare of God out of his minde, all loove of his freends and kinsfolkes, all remembrance of honestie, civilitie, and humanitie; so that I will not feare to call drunkerds beasts, and no men; and much worse then beasts, for beasts never exceede in such kinde of excesse or superfluitie, but alway *modum adhibent appetitum*, they measure their appetites by the rule of necessitie, which would God wee would doo.

The discomforts of drunkennes.

Drunkerds worse then beasts.

Spud. Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you shew me some testimonies of the holy Scriptures against it; for whatsoever is evil, the word of God, I doubt not, reproveth the same.

Philo. It seemeth you have not read the holy Scripture very much, for if you had you should have found it not only spoke against, but also thrown down even to hel: for proof wherof of infinit places I wil recite a few. The prophet Esaias thundereth out against it, saying, *ve qui confurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam*: Wo be to them that ryse earlie to followe drunkenesse, wallowing therein from morning to night, untill they be set on fire with wyne and strong

Esais 5.

Testimonies
againſt drunk-
enneſſe out of
the word of
God.
Hofeas c. 4.

drinke. Therfore gapeth hell, and openeth her mouth wyde, that the glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therein may go downe into it, faith the prophet. The prophet Hofeas faith, *fornicatio, vinum et muſum auferunt animum*. Whordome, wyne, and ſtrong drinke infatuat the heart of man.

Joel 1.

The prophet Joel biddeth all drunkards awake, ſaying, Weepe and howle, you wine-bibbers, for the wickedneſſe of deſtruction that ſhall fall upon you.

Habacuck 2.

The prophet Habacuck foundeth a moſt dreadfull alarme not only to all drunkards, but alſo to all that make them drunken, ſaying, Wo be to him that geveſh his neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayſt ſee his privities.

Proverb ca.
10.

Salomon faith, Wyne maketh a man to be ſcornfull, and ſtrong drinke maketh a man unquiet: who ſo take a pleaſure in it ſhall not be wiſe. In an other place, Keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous perſons, for ſuch as be drunkards ſhall come to beggerie. In the xxij of his Proverbes he faith: To whome is woo? to whome is ſorow?

Proverb 23.

to whome is ſtrife? to whome is murmuring? to whome are wounds without cauſe? and to whome are red eyes? Even to them that tarie long at the wyne, to them that go and ſeek mixt wyne. And, againe: Looke not thou uppon the wyne when it is red, and when it ſheweth his colour in the cup, or goeth downe pleaſantlie, for in the end it will bite like a ſerpent, and hurt like a cockatrice, or baſilcock,

Proverb 31.

which ſlay or kill men with the poiſon of their fighte. Again, it is not for kings to drynke wyne, nor it is not for princes to drinke ſtrong drinke. Our Saviour Chriſt, in the Goſpell of S. Luke, biddeth us take heed that we be not overcome with ſurſetting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, leaſt the day of the Lorde come uppon us unawares.

Luc. 21.

Paule to the Ephesians, biddeth beware that we be not drunk with wine, wherin is exceſſe, but to be filled with the ſpirit. The ſame apoſtle, in an other place, faith, that neither whoremonger, adulterer, drunkard, glotton, ryotous perſon, nor ſuch like, ſhal ever enter into the kingdome of Heaven. By theſe few places, out of many, you may ſee the inormitie of this vice, which is ſo much every where frequented.

Spud. Let me intreate you to ſhew me ſome examples withall, wherby I may ſee what evill it hath done in all ages.

Philo. Drunknes cauſed Lot to commit moſt ſhamefull inceſt with his owne two daughters, who got them both with child, he not perceiving it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they roſe up. See how drunkenneſſe affotteth a man, depriving him of all fence, reaſon, and underſtanding.

Drunkenneſſe cauſed Noah to lye with his privities bare in his tabernacle, in ſuche beaſtlye ſorte as his wicked ſonne Cham jeſted and ſcoffed at the ſame.

Thorow drunkenneſſe Holophernes, that great and invincible monarche of the Aſſyrians, was overcome by a woman, having his head cut from his ſhoulders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkenneſſe king Herode was brought to ſuch ydiocie and fooliſh dotage, that he cauſed the head of Jhon the Baptiſt to be cut off, to ſatiſſie the requeſt of a dauncing ſtrumpet. That rich Epulo, of whom Luke maketh mention, was for his drunkenneſſe and ryotous exceſſe, condemned to the fire of hel for ever, with many moe examples which for ſhortnes I omit. Now, ſeeing than that drunkenneſſe is both offenſive to God, and bringeth ſuch evils in this lyfe preſent, let us, in the name of God, avoyde

Ephe. 5.

Gene. 29.

Examples
againſt drunk-
enneſſe.

Luc. 16.

Luc. 16.

How farre
drunkards are
estranged from
themselves.

What if God
blesse not our
meats.

Giving of
thanks before
meat and
after.

it as a most wicked thing and pernicious evill. For every drunkard is so farre estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extasie of mind, or rather in a playne phrensie, he may not be said to be *sui animi compos*, or a man of sounde wit, but rather a very Bedlem, or muche worse, no Christian but an Anti-christian; no member of Christ Jesus, but an impe of Satan and a lymme of the devill. Wherefore, in the name of God, let us avoydeall excesse, imbrace temperancie and sobrietie, and receive so much meats and drinks as may satisfie nature, not the insaciat appetite of our fleshly desires; knowing that except the Lord blesse our meats and drinks within our bodyes, and give them power and strength to nourish and feede the same, and our bodyes their naturall powers, every member to doo his office and dutie, our meates shall lye in our stomacks, stincking, finelling, and rotting, like filthie carion in a lothsom sinck. So farre of ought we to be from abusing the good creaturs of God by ryot, drunknesse, or excesse, that we ought never to take a morfell of bread, nor sope of drinke, without humble thanks to the Lord for the same. For we never read that our Saviour Christ ever eat or dranke but he gave thanks (or, as we call it, said grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed he not to have done in respect of himselfe, but for our erudition and learning, according to this saying, *omnis Christi actio nostra est instructio*: every action of our Saviour Christ is our example and instruction to follow as neere as we are able. And thus much of drunknesse, which God graunt may evry wher be avoided.

Spud. Shew me, I pray you, the state of that cuntrey a litle further: is it a welthie countrey within it selfe, or otherwyse poore and bare?

Philo. It is a most famous yland, a fertile cuntrey, and abounding with all maner of store, both of riches, treasure, and all things els whatsoever; but as it is a welthie and riche countrey, so are the inhabitaunts, from the highest to the lowest, from the priest to the popolare sorte, even all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to covetousnes and ambition; which thing whilest they follow, they can never be satisfied, for, *crefeit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crefeit*: the love of mony doth by so much the more increase, by how much more the monie it selfe doth increase; and the nature of a covetous man is such that *tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet*: as well that thing which he hath, as that which he hath not, is wanting unto him. A covetouse man may wel be compared to hell, which ever gapeth and yawnceth for more, and is never content with inough: for right as hell ever hunteth after more, so a covetous man, drowned in the quagmire or plash of avarice and ambition, having his *summam voluptatem* reposed in momentanie riches, is never content with inough, but still thirsteth for more, much like the man sicke of the ague, who the more he drinketh the more he thursteth; the more he thursteth the more he drinketh; the more he drinketh the more his disease increaseth. Therefore I hould it true which is writ, *burfa avari os est diaboli*; the powch of a rich covetous man is the mouth of the devill, which ever is open to receive, but alway shut to give.

Ailgna a famous yland.

The nature of a covetous man.

The insaciabie desire of a covetouse man.

The purfe of a riche man.

Spud. But they will easily wipe away this blot, namely in saying, are we not bound to provyde for our selves, our wyves, our children, and famelic? Doth not the apostle hold him for an infidell and deneger of the faith, who provydeth not for his wyfe and family? Is it not good to lay up som-

thing againſt a ſtormie day ? wherefore they wil rather deeme themſelves good huſbands, than covetous or ambitious perſons.

How farre
every man is
bound to pro-
vyde for his
familie.

Immoderate
care for riches
reproved.

Land-lords
racke their
tenantes.

Philo. Every Chriſten man is bound, in conſcience before God, to provide for their houſhold and family, but yet ſo as his immoderat care ſurpaſſe not the bands, nor yet tranſcend the limits of true godlynes. His chiefeſt truſt and care is to reſt onely in the Lord, who giveth liberally to every one that aſketh of him in verity and truth, and reprocheth no man ; and withall he is to uſe ſuch ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed to the perſeuerance of the ſame. But ſo farre from covetouſnes, and from immoderate care, wold the Lord have us, that we ought not this day to care for to morrow, for (ſaith he) ſufficient to the day is the travail of the ſame. After all theſe things (with a diſtruſtfull and inordinat care) do the heathen ſeek, who know not God, ſaith our Saviour Chriſt ; but be you not like them. And yet I ſay, as we are not to diſtruſt the providence of God, or deſpaire for any thing, ſo are we not to preſume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to uſe ſuch ſecundary and inſtrumental meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to the end and purpoſe to get our owne lyving and maintenance withall. But this people, leaving theſe godly meanes, do all runne headlong to covetouſnes and ambition, attempting all waies and aſſaying al meanes poſſible to exaggerat and heap up riches, the thick clay of damnation to themſelves for ever. So (likewiſe) landlords make marchandife of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raiſing their fines and incommes, and ſetting them ſo ſtraitely uppon the tenter hookes, as no man can lyve on them. Beſides that, as though this pillage and pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and incloſe commons, moores, heaths,

and other common pastures, wher out the poore common-
altie were wont to have all their forrage and feeding for
their cattell, and (which is more) corne for them selves to
lyve uppon: all which are now in most places taken from
them by these greedye puttockes, to the great impoverish-
ing and utter beggering of whole townes and parishes, whose
tragicall cries and incessant clamors have long since pearced
the skyes, and presented themselves before the Majesty of
God, saying, How long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre
to revenge this villanie of thy poore saincts and unworthie
members uppon the earth? Take heed, therefore, you richie
men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye
as miserie any maner of way thorow your injurious ex-
actions, sinister oppressions, and indirect dealings, shall be
powred uppon your heads at the great daye of the Lord.
Curfed is he (saith our Saviour Christ) that offendeth one of
these little ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged
about his neck, and he cast into the middest of the sea.
Christ so entirely loveth his poore members uppon earth
that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one
of them to be done to himselfe, and will revenge it as done
to himselfe. Wherfor God give them grace to lay open
their inclosures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes,
and other impositions, wherby God is offended, their poore
brethren beggered, and, I feare mee, the whole realme will
be brought to utter ruine and decay, if this mischiese be not
met withall, and incountred with verie shortlie. For these
inclosures be the causes why rich men eat up poore men, as
beasts doo eat grasse: these, I say, are the caterpillers and
devouring locustes that mafsacre the poore, and eat up the
whole realme to the destruction of the same: the Lord re-
moove them!

Inclusing of
commons
from the
poore.

Injurie to
Christ his
members is
injury to
Christ.

Inclosures.

Lawyers
ruffling in
poore mens
riches.

Upon the other side, the lawyers they goe ruffling in their silks, velvets, and chaines of gold: they build gorgeous howses, sumptuous edifices, and stately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they have bands and retinewes of men attendant upon them daylie; they purchase castles and towers, lands and lordships, and what not? And all upon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

Oyntment to
greefe lawiers
in the first
withall.

They have so good consciences that all is fish that comes to the net; thei refuse nothing that is offred, and what they do for it in preferring their poore clients cause, the Lorde knoweth, and one day they shall finde it. If you have *argent*, or rather *rubrum unguentum*, I dare not say gold, but red oyntment to greafe them in the fist withall, than your sute shall want no furtherance; but if this be wanting, than farewell clyent; he may go shooe the goofe for any good successe he is like to have of his matter: without this, sheriffes and officers wil returne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non est inventus*, smally to the poore mans profit. So long as any of this ointment is dropping, they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and just, and all to keep him in ure, till all be gon, and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one aske them why they tould not their clients so in the beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himselfe; he tould me the best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this evidence and that evidence, this president and that president, turning all the fault upon the suggester; wheras the whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience can beare witnesse. In prefence of their clients they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their slaughtes wold thinke they would go together by the eares);

The pretended
excuse of
lawyers when
their cliants
have looft
their pleas.

The slaughtie
practices of
lawyers.

this is to draw on their clients withal ; but immediatly after, their clients being gon, they laugh in their sleeves to see how pretily they fetch in such sommes of money ; and that, under the pretence of equitie and justice. But though thei can for a time (*preſligiatorum inſtar*), like cunning deceivers, caſt a miſt before the blind world, yet the Lord, who ſeeth (ſuborned by none) the ſecrets of all harts, ſhall make them manifeſt to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfait balances and untrue waightes, and by their ſurpriſing of their wares heap up infinit treaſures. The artificer and occupiers, even all in generall, will not ſell their wares for no reaſonable price, but will ſweare and teare pittifully, that ſuch a thing coſt them ſo much, and ſuch a thing ſo much, wheras they ſwear as falſe as the lyving Lord is true. But one day let them be ſure that the Lord (who faith thou ſhalt not ſweare at all, nor deceive thy brother in bargaining) will revenge this villanie done to his majeſtie.

The fraudulent dealing of marchant men.

Artificers.

Into ſuch a ruinous eſtat hath covetouſnes now brought that land, that in plentie of all things there is great ſcarſitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might have been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie yeers, for twentie ſhillings, is now worth twentie nobles, or xx pound. That which than worth twentie pound is now worth a c. pound, and more : wherby the rich men have ſo balaunced their cheſts with gold and ſilver, as they cracke againe. And to ſuch exceſſe is this covetouſnes growne, as every one that hath money will not ſtick to take his neighbors houſe over his head, long before his yeers be expired : wherthorow many a poore man, with his wyfe, children, and

Great dearth in plenty of all things.

Taking of howſes over mens heads.

The desperate
desire of men
to get money.

whole famelie are forced to begge their bread all their dayes after. Another sorte, who flow in welth, if a poore man have eyther house or land, they will never rest untill they have purchased it, giving him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Besides all this, so desperately given are many, that for the acquiring of silver and gold, they will not s[t]icke to imbrew their hands, and both their armes in the blood of their owne parents and freends most unnaturally. Other some will not make any conscience to sweare and forswear themselves for ever, to lye, dissemble, and deceive the deereft frends they have in the world. Therefore the heathen poet, Virgill, said very well, *O sacra auri fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*: Oh cursed desire of gold, what mischief is it but thou forcest man to attempt it for the love of thee! This immoderat thirst of gold and monie bringeth infinit number to shameful end; some as homicides for murthuring and killing; some as latrones, for robbing and stealing: some for one thing, some for another; so that surely I think *major est numerus hominum, quos dira avaritiæ pestis absorpsit, quam quos gladius vel ensis perforavit*: the number of those whom the pestilence of avarice hath swallowed up is greater than the number of those whom the sword hath destroyed. The Lord assuage the heat hereof with the oyle of his grace, if it be his good pleasure and wil.

Many brought
to rufull end
thorow
meanes of gold
and silver.

Spud. If I might be so bold, I wold request you to shew me, out of the word of God, where this detestable vice is reproved.

Math. 6.

Testimonies
out of the
word of God
against cove-
tousnes.

Philo. Our Saviour Christ Jesus, the arch-doctor of all truth, in his Evangely, the sixt of Mathew, saith, Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.

Again, be not carefull for apparell, what you shall put

on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke for the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousnes therof, and all these things shal be given unto you. He charged his disciples to be so farre from covetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their jorneyes, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his disciples another time, stryving which of them should be the greatest, that he who wold be the greatest must condescend to be servant of all. When the people would have advaunced him to have been a king he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth us, we cannot serve two maisters, God and Mammon: he biddeth us not to set our minds uppon covetousnes; inferring that wher our riches be there will our harts be also. He saith, it is harder for a rich man (that is, for a man whose trust is in riches,) to enter into the kingdome of God, than for a camell to go thorow the eye of a needle. The Apostle biddeth us, if we have meat and drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (saith he) fall into diverse temptations and snares of the devill, which drowne men in perdition. David saith, Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping up riches, and cannot tell who shall possesse them. Salom. compareth a covetous man to him that murthereth and sheadeth innocent blood. Hell and destruction are never ful, so the eyes of men can never be satisfied. The Apostle S. Paule saith, neither whormongers, adulterers, nor covetous persons, nor extortioners shal ever enter into the kingdome of heaven. And saith further, that the love of monie is the root of all evil. Christ biddeth us be liberal and lend to them that have need, not looking for any restitution again; and never to turn our face away from any poore man, and than the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from us. By

Luc. 6.
Math. xx.

I Timo. vi.

Psalme 39.

Proverb 1.
Prove. 27.

Mat. 5.
Luc. 6.

theſe few places it is manifeſt how farre from al covetouſnes the Lord wold have al Chriſtians be.

Spud. Be their any examples in Scriptures to ſhew forth the puniſhments of the ſame, inflicted upon offenders therein?

The puniſh-
ment of cove-
tousnes ſhew-
ed by exam-
ples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

Sa. viii.

Act. 5.

Philo. The ſcripture is full of ſuch fearful examples of the juſt judgements of God powred upon them that have offended herein; wherof I will recite three or four, for the ſatiſfying of your godly mind. Adam was caſt out of Paradiſe for coveting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. Gieſe, the ſervant of Elizeus the prophet, was ſmitten with an incurable leproſie, for that he, to ſatiſfie his covetous deſire, exacted golde, ſilver, and riche garments of Naaman, the K. of Siria his ſervant. Balaam was reprooved of his aſſe for his covetouſnes in going to curſe the children of Iſrael at the requeſt of K. Balac, who promiſed him abundance of gold and ſilver ſo to doo. Achab, the K., for covetouſnes to have pore Naboth his viniard, ſlew him and dyed after himſelfe, with all his progeny, a ſhameful death. The ſonnes of Samuel were, for their inſaciabie covetouſnes, deſtined from ever injoying their fathers kingdome. Judas, for covetouſnes of mony, ſould the Saviour of the world and betrayed him to the Jewes, but afterward dyed a miſerable death, his bellye burſting, and his bowels guſhing out. Ananias and Saphira his wife, for covetouſnes in concealing part of the price of their lands from the apoſtles, were both ſlain, and died a fearful death. Achan was ſtoned to death, by the Lord his commandement, for his covetouſnes in ſtealing gold, ſilver, and jewels at the ſacking of Jericho, and al his goods were burned preſently. Thus you ſee how for covetouſnes of mony, in all ages, men have made ſhip-

wrack of their consciences, and in the end, by the just judgement of God, have dyed fearful deaths, whose judgments I leave to the Lord.

Spud. Seeing that covetousnes is so wicked a sin, and so offensive both to God and man, and pernicious to the soule, I marveile what moveth men to followe the same as they doo.

Ph. Two things move men to affect mony so much as they doo: the one for feare least they shold fal into povertie and beggery, (oh, ridiculous infidelitie!) the other to be advanced and promoted to high dignities and honors upon earth. And thei see the world is such that he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* and maistered at every word, and withal saluted with the vaine title of worshipfull, and right worshipfull, though notwithstanding he be a dunghill gentleman, or a gentleman of the first head, as they use to terme them. And to such outrage is it growne, that now adayes every butcher, shoemaker, tailer, cobbler, husbandman, and other; yea, every tinker, pedler, and swinherd, every artificer and other, *gregarii ordinis*, of the vilest sorte of men that be, must be called by the vain name of maisters at every word. But it is certen that no wyse man will intitle them with any of these names, worshipfull and maister (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to the godly wyse, for some speciall vertue inherent, either els in respect of their birth, or calling, due unto them) but such titivillers, flattering parasits, and glofing Gnatoes as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen up with the bellows of pride, and puffed up with the wind of vainglori, they might easily perceive. For certen it is they do but mocke

What make
men to affect
money.

Every beggar
almost is call-
ed maister at
every word.

Refusing of
vaine titles.

and flatter them with these titles, knowing that they deserve nothing lesse. Wherefore, like good recusants of that thing which is evill, they should refuse those vainglorious names, remembring the words of our Saviour Christ, saying, Be not called maister, in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in heaven : which is only true Maister and Lord. God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, until they come to perfect man in Jesus Christ.

Spud. The people beeing so fet upon covetousnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without usurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn ? for usurie followeth covetousnes, as the shadowe dooth the bodie.

Great Usurie in Ailgna.

Philo.

Usury.

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there (for the most part), without usurie and loane, or without some good hostage, guage, or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

The positive
lawes.

Spud. I have heard say that the positive and statute lawes there doo permit them to take usurye, limitting them how much to take for every pound.

Philo. Although the civile lawes (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) doo permit certain sommes of money to be given overplus, beyond or aboove the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the usurers no more discharged from the gilt of usurie before God therby, then the adulterous Jewes were from whordome, because Moyfes gave them a permissive law for every man to put away

their wives that would, for every light trifle. And yet the lawes there gave no libertie to commit usurie; but seeing how much it rageth, lest it should exceed, rage further, and over flowe the banks of all reason and godlynes, as covetousnes is a raging sea and a bottomlesse pit, and never satisfied nor contented, they have limited them within certain meeres and banks (to bridle the insatiable desires of covetous men), beyond the which it is not lawfull for any to go. But this permission of the lawes argueth not that it is lawfull to take usury, no more (I say) then the permission of Moyfes argueth that whordome and adulterie is lawfull and good, because Moyfes permitted them to put away their wives for the avoiding of greater evill: for, as Christ said to the Jewes, from the beginning it was not so, so say I to these usurers, from the beginning it was not so, nor yet ought so to be.

The lawes of Ailgna permit no usurie.

Spud. If no interest were permitted, then no man would lend, and then how should the poor doo? Wherefore the lawes, that permit some small over-plus therin, doo very well.

Philo. *Non faciendum est malum, ut inde veniat bonum:* we must not doo evil, that good may come of it. Yet the lawes, in permitting certain reasonable gain to be received for the loane of money lent, lest otherwise the poore should quaille (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) have not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeilded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended, which was to impale within the forrest, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore mens hands

The lawes permit some overplus, but commaund it.

for the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit usurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Forbidding to outrage is mischief is not permission to commit mischief.

Therefore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of usury, and licence men to commit it freely, doo slander the lawes and are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, thou shalt not take aboove ijs. in the pound, x li in the hundred, and so forth, dooth this proove that it is lawful to take so much, or rather that thou shalt not take more then that? If I say to a man, thou shalt not give him aboove one or two blowes, dooth this proove that I licence him to give him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not give him any at al, or if he doo, he shal not exceede or passe the bands of resonable mesure? so this law dooth but mitigate the penalty, for it saith that the party that taketh but x li, for the use of an c li, loseth but the x li, not his principal.

Spud. Then I perceive, if usurie be not lawful by the lawes of the realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

Math. 5, 6.
Luc. 6.

Philo. You may be sure of that; for our Saviour Christe willeth us to be far from covetousnes and usury, as he saith, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away." Againe, "Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward shalbe great in heaven." If wee must lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay us again, no, not so much as the bare thing lent, where is the interest, the usurie, the gaine, and over-plus we fish for so much? Therefore our Saviour Christe saith, *beatius est dare, potius quam accipere*: it is more blessed to give, then to receive. In the 22 of

The word of
God against
usurie.

Exodus, Deut. 24, 23, Levit. 25, Nehe. 5, Eze. 22, 18, and many other places, we are forbidden to use any kinde of usury, or interest, or to receive again any over-plus besides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beafts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any other thing els what soever. David asketh a question of the Lord, saying, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy hill? Wherto he giveth the solution him self, saying, Even he that leadeth an incorrupt life, and hath not given his money unto usurie, nor taken reward against the innocent: who so dooth these things shall never fall. In the 15 of Deut. the Lord willet us not to crave again the thing we have lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free year. If it be not lawful (then) to aske again that which is lent (for it is not the law of good conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare it then the other to pay it,) much lesse is it lawful to demaund any usury or over-plus. And for this cause the Lord faith, Let there be no begger amongst you, nor poore person amongst the tribes of Israel. Thus, you see, the word of God abandonneth usurie even to hel, and all writers, both divine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moved onely by the instinct of nature and rules of reason, have alwaies abhord it. Therefore Cato, being demaunded what usurie was, asked againe, what it was to kill a man? making usurie equivalent with murder: and good reason, for he that killeth a man riddeth him out of his paines at once, but he that taketh usury is long in butchering his patient, suffering him by little and little to languish, and sucking out his hart blood, never leaveth him so long as he feeleth any vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming forth of him. The usurer killeth not one

Exodus 20.
Deut. 24, 23.
Levit. 25.
Nehe. 5.
Ezech. 22, 18.

Psalms 25.

When it is not
lawfull to aske
again our
goods lent.

Hethen men
against usury
and interest.

Usury equall
with murder

Sute commenced
against him
that is not
able to pay
aswel the
ufury as the
principall.

To prifon with
him that can-
not pay the
ufury.

No mercy in
imprifoning of
poore men for
ufury.

No crueltie to
be shewed, but
mercy and
compafion
ought to be
extended.

but many, bothe husband, wife, children, fervants, famelie, and all, not fparing any. And if the poore man have not wherewith to pay, as wel the intereft as the principall, when foever this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then fute fhallbe commenced againft him; out go butter flies and writts, as thick as haile; fo the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, and beeing once more convented, judgement condemnatorie and definitive fentence proceedeth againft him, compelling him to pay, aswel the ufury and the loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he have not to fatisfie as wel the one as th' other, then to Bocardo goeth he as round as a ball, where he fhallbe fure to lye until he rotte, one peece from the other, without fatisfaction bee made. Oh, curfed caitive! no man, but a devil; no Chriftian, but a cruel Tartarian and mercileffe Turck! dareft thou look up toward heaven, and canft thou hope to be faved by the death of Chrift that fuffereft thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren and fifters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Chrift Jefus, vefels of falvation, coheirs with him of his fuperiall kingdom, adoptive fonnes of his grace, and finally faints in heaven, to lye and rot in prifon for want of payment of a little drofse, which at the day of dome shall beare witnefse againft thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for ever? The very ftones of the prifon walles shall rife up againft thee, and condemn thee for thy crueltie. Is this love? is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wifh others to doe to thee? or rather as thou wouldest wifh the Lord to doe unto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cutteft of thy felfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but alfo

hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Jesus? No, no; thou art a member of the devil, a limme of Sathan, and a childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren in such sorte for any worldly matter whatsoever. Wee ought to shewe mercie and not crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then exact punishment; referring all revenge to him who faith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (faith the Lord).

Beleeve mee, it greeveth mee to heare (walking in the streets) the pitiful cryes, and miserable complaints of poore prisoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest sorte), and clothing to their backs, lying in filthie strawe, and lothsome dung, worse then anie dogge, voide of all charitable consolation and brotherly comfort in this world, wishing and thyrsting after death to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, gives, and yron bands.

Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers are growen to such barbarous crueltie that they blush not to say, Tush! he shall either paye mee the whole, or els lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks, and before I will release him I will make dice of his bones. But take heed, thou devill (for I dare not call thee a man), lest the Lord say to thee, as he said to that wicked servaunt (who having great sommes forgiven him, wold not forgive his brother his small debte, but, catching him by the throte, said, pay that thou owest), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into utter darknes, wher shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

An usurer is worse than a thief, for the one stealeth but

The pitiful
crying of
prisoners in
prison for
debt.

A tygerlike
tyrannical
faying.

Math. xviii.
Mark xi.

An usurer
worse than a
thief.

for need, the other for coveitounes and exceffe: the one stealeth but in the night commonly; the other daylie and hourelly, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

An usurer
worse than a
Jew.

An usurer is worse than a Jew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye usurie of their brethren, according to the lawe of God.

An usurer
worse than
Judas.

They are worse than Judas, for he betraied Christ but once, made restitution, and repented for it (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these usurers betray Christ in his members daylie and hourly, without any remorse or restitution at all.

Usurers worse
then hell.

They are worse then hel it self, for it punisheth only the wicked and reprobate, but the usurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the usurer destroyeth both body and soule for ever. And, to be breef, the usurer is worse then the devil himself, for the devil plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the usurer plagueth not onely those that are within his jurisdiction alreedy, but even all other without permission of any. Therefore, saith

An usurer
worse then
death.

An usurer
worse then the
devil.

The sayings of
godly fathers
and writers
against usury.

Ambrose, if any man commit usurie, it is extortion, ravin, and pillage, and he ought to dye. Alphonsus called usury nothing els then a life of death. Lycurgus banished all kind of usury out of his lands. Cato did the same. Ageffilaus, generall of the Lacedemonians, burned the usurers bookes in the open market places. Claudius Vaspasianus, and after him Alexander Severus made sharpe lawes against usury, and utterly extirped the same. Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, have sharply inveighed against this devouring

Usurers pu-
nished with
sundry tor-
tures.

canker of usury; and yet cannot we, that fain would be called Christians, avoid it. And if it be true that I heare say, there be no men so great doers in this noble facultie and famous science as the scriveners be: for it is sayd (and I feare me too true) that there are some to whome is committed a hundred or two of poundes, of some more, of some lesse, they putting in good sureties to the owners for the repayment of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, desiring them to lend them such a som of money, and they will recompence them at their owne desires, who making refusal at the firste, as though they had it not (to acuate the minds of the poore petitioners withall), at last they lend them how much they desire, receiving of the poore men what interest and assurance they lust themselves, and binding them, their lands, goodes, and all, with forfeiture thereof if they fayle of payment: where note by the way the scrivener is the instrument wherby the divell worketh the frame of this wicked woorke of usurie, hee beeing rewarded with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the archdivel who owes the money for helping him to such vent for his coyne: secondly, he hath a greate deale more usurie to himselfe of him who boroweth the money, than he alloweth the owner of the mony: and, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings betwene them. And thus the poore man is so implicate and wrapped in on everie side, as it is impossible for him ever to get out of the briers without losse of all that ever hee hath, to the very skin. Thus the riche are enriched, the poore beggered and Christ Jesus dishonored everie way, God be mercifull unto us! *De his hactenus.*

Spud. Having (by the grace of Christe) hytherto spoken

Scriveners the
devils agents
to set forward
usurie.

The scriveners
fleece or pit-
tance for his
paynes.

of fundrie abuses of that countrie, let us proceed a little further. Howe doe they sanctifie and keepe the Sabbaoth day? In godly Christian exercises, or els in prophane pastimes and pleasures?

The maner of sanctifying the Sabaoth
in Ailgna.

Philo.

The Sabaoth day of some is well sanctified, namely in hearing the Word of God read, preached, and interpreted in private and publique prayers, in singing of godly psalmes, in celebrating the sacraments, and in collecting for the poore and indigent; which are the true uses and ends wherto the sabaoth was ordained. But other some spend the sabaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of bawdie stage-plays and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they use), may-games, church-ales, feasts, and wakeffes: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse-playing; in beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like; in keeping of faires and markets on the sabaoth; in keeping Courts and leets; in football playing, and such other devilish pastimes; reading of lascivious and wanton bookes, and an infinit number of such like practises and prophane exercises used upon that day, wherby the Lord God is dishonoured, his sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his sacraments contemned, and his people mervelously corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. Lord, remoove these exercises from thy sabaoth!

Spud. You wil be deemed too too stoicall, if you should

Prophane
exercises upon
the sabaoth
day.

restrain men from these exercises upon the sabaoth; for they suppose that that day was ordained and consecrate to that end and purpose, only to use what kinde of exercises they think good themselves: and was it not so?

Phi. After that the Lord God had created the world, and all things therein contained, in six dayes, in the seventh day he rested from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from governing them) and therefore hee commaunded the seventh day should be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this commaundement, when he gave the law in Mount Horeb to Moyfes, and in him to all the Children of Israel, saying, Remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the seventh day, &c. If we must keep it holy, then must we not spend it in such vain exercises as please ourselves, but in such godly exercises as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my judgement) the Lord our God ordained the seventh day to be kept holy for foure causes especially. First, to put us in minde of his wonderful workmanship and creation of the world and creatures besides. Secondly, that his woord (the Church assembling together) might be preached, interpreted, and expounded; his sacraments ministred sincerely, according to the prescript of his woord, and that suffrages and prayers, bothe privat and publique, might be offered to his excellent majestie. Thirdly, for that every Christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might the better sustaine the travailes of the week to insue; and also to the end that all beasts and cattel, which the Lord hath made for mans use, as helps and adjuments unto him in his daylie affaires and businesse, might rest and refresh

When the
sabaoth was
ordained.

Wherefore the
sabaoth was
instituted.

them selves, the better to go thorow in their traveiles afterward. For, as the hethen man knew very wel, *sine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam* : without some rest or repose there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to th' end it might be a typical figure or signitor to point (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher forth and shadowe unto us that blessed rest and thryfe happie joye which the faithfull shall possesse after the day of judgement in the kingdome of heaven. Wherefore, seeing the sabaoth was instituted for these causes, it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and ungodly pastymes and vaine pleasures of the flesh ; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteste.

Punishment
for violating
the sabaoth.

The man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few small stickes upon the sabaoth was stoned to death by the commaundement of God from the theator of heaven.

Violaters of
the sabaoth.

Than, if he were stoned for gathering a few stickes upon the sabaoth day, which in some cafes might be for necessities sake, and did it but once, what shall they be who all the sabaoth dayes of their lyfe give themselves to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt both of the Lord and his sabaoth ? And though they have played the lazie lurdens al the weke before, yet that day of set purpose they wil toile and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his sabaoth. But let them be sure, as he that gathered stickes upon the sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the same, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces for their contempt of the Lord in his sabaoth.

The Jewes are verye strict in keeping their fabaoths ; in so muche as they will not dresse their meats and drinks uppon the same day, but set it on the tables the day befor. They go not above ij miles upon the fabaoth day ; they suffer not the body of any malefactor to hang uppon the gallowes uppon the fabaoth day, with legions of such supersticions. Wherin as I do acknowledge they are but too scrupelous, and overshoot the marke, so we are therin plaine contemptuous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so strait laced, that I would have no kinde of worke done uppon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught us the fabaoth was made for man, and not man for the fabaoth,) but not for every light trifle, which may as well be done on other dayes as uppon that day. And although the day it self, in respect of the very nature and originall therof, be no better than another day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we become temporizers, all being alike good ; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified and kept holy to him self, let us (like obedient and obsequious children) submit our selves to so looving a father, for els we spit against heaven, we strive against the stream, and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true use of the fabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodilye labour and travaile ? I answere, no : the true use of the fabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the ceremonie of the day,) consisteth, as I have said, in hearing the woord of God truly preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiving the sacraments (as seales of his grace towards us), rightly administred, in using publique and private prayer,

The Jewes
very precise in
keeping
fabaoth.

No work to be
done upon the
fabaoth ex-
cept necessite
inforce it.

Wherin the
true use of the
fabaoth con-
sisteth.

in thanksgiving to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes, and breefly in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend upon the other : that is, wee must refrain all bodily labours, to the end wee may the better be resiant at these spirituall exercises uppon the sabaoth day.

This is the true use and end of the Lord his saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for ever !

Spud. Having shewed the true use of the saboth, let us go forward to speke of those abuses particularlye, wherby the saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first begin with stage playes and enterluds : what is your opinion of them ? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne ?

Of Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.

Philo.

All stage-playes, enterluds, and commedies are either of divyne or prophane matter : if they be of divine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather sacrilegious ; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reverently, gravely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious majestie of God, which shineth therein, and not scoffingly, flowtlingly, and jybingly, as it is upon stages in playes and enterluds, without any reverence, worship, or veneration to the same. The word of our salvation, the price of Christ his blood, and the merits of his passion were not given to be derided and

jested at, as they be in their filthie playes and enterluds on stages and scaffolds, or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry, wanton shewes, and uncomely gestures, as is used (every man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes. In the first of Jhon we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: wherfore who so ever abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds abuseth the majesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking stock of him, and purchaseth to himselfe eternal damnation. And no marveil; for the sacred word of God, and God himselfe is never to be thought of, or once named but with great feare, reverence, and obedience to the same. All the holy companie of heaven, angels, archangels, cherubins, seraphins, and all other powers whatsoever; yea, the devills themselves (as James saith) doo tremble and quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath: and doo these mockers and flouters of his majesty, these dissembeling hypocrites, and flattering Gnatoes, think to escape unpunished? Beware, therefore, you masking players, you painted sepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computistes, cast your accompts before, what wil be the reward therof in the end, leaft God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with such prophane vanities. For at no hand it is not lawfull to mixt scurrilitie with divinitie, nor divinitie with scurrilitie.

Theopompus mingled Moyfes law with his writings, and therefore the Lord stroke him madd. Theodictes began the same practife, but the Lord stroke him blind for it; with many others, who, attempting the like devyses, were al

The deriding
of the word of
God in stage
playes.

Reverence to
the majestie of
God due.

A warning to
players.

Not lawfull to
intermixt
divynitie with
scurrilitie.

What if playes
be of prophane
matter.

overthrowne and died miserably: besides, what is their judgement in the other world the Lord onely knoweth. Upon the other side, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the dishonor of God, and nourishing of vice, both which are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the word of grace, and sucked out of the devills teates to nourish us in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and sinne. And therefore they, carying the note, or brand, of God his curse uppon their backs, which way soever they goe, are to be hissed out of all Christian kingdomes, if they wil have Christ to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that ever any good men, from the beginning, have resisted playes and enterluds?

The word of
God, al writ-
ers, counsels
and fathers
have writ
against playes
and enterluds.

Philo. Not onely the word of God doth overthrow them, addjudging them and the maintainers of them to hell, but also all holie counsels, and sinodes, both generall, nationall, and provinciall, together with all writers, both divyne and prophane, ever since the beginning, have disallowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The learned father Tertullian, in his booke *de Speculo*, saith that playes were consecrat to that false ydoll Bacchus, for that he is said to have found out and invented strong drinke.

Wherefore
playes were
ordeined.

Augustinus, *de civit. Dei*, saith that plaies were ordeined by the devill, and consecrat to heathen gods, to draw us from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in another place, *Pecunias histrionibus dare vitium est innane, non virtus*: to give money to players is a greivous sin.

Chrisostome calleth those playes *fecta Sathani*, feasts of the devill. Lactantius, an ancient learned father, saith, *Histrionum impudissimi gestus, nihil aliud nisi libidinem*

movent: the shamelesse gestures of plaieres serue to nothing so much as to move the flesh to lust and unclenneffe. And therefore in the 30 Counsell of Carthage and Synode of Laodicea, it was decreed that no Christen man or woman should resort to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie, scurrilitie, and whordome maintained. Scipio, seeing the Romaines bente to erect theaters and places for plaies, dehorted them from it with the most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. Valerius Maximus faith, Playes were never brought up *sine regni rubore*, without shame to the cuntrey. Arist. debarreth youth accessse to playes and enterluds, least they seeking to quench the thirst of Venus, doo quench it with a potle of fire. Augustus banished Ovid for making bookes of love, enterluds and such other amorous trumperie.

Concilium 3.
Cartha. cap.
11. Synode
Laodicea,
cap. 54.

Writers both
divyne and
prophane
against playes
and enterluds.

Constantius ordeined that no player shold be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, seeing that playes were first invented by the devil, practised by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat to their false ydols, goddes and goddessees, as the howse, stage, and apparell to Venus, the musicke to Apollo, the penning to Minerva and the Muses, the action and pronuntiation to Mercurie and the rest, it is more than manifest that they are no fit exerceyses for a Christen man to follow. But if there were no evill in them save this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, injurie, incest, murther, and such like, the persons or actors are goddes, goddessees, furies, fyends, haggess, kinges, queenes, or potentates. Of comedies the matter and ground is love, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the persons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, scullions, knaves, and curtesians, lecherous old men, amorous young men, with

The ends of
playes and
enterluds.

The argu-
ments of
tragedies.

The ground of
comedies.

Theaters and
curtaines Ve-
nus pallaces.

No playes
comparable to
the word of
God.

He is curſed
that faith
playes and
enterluds are
comparable to
ſermons.

ſuch like of infinit varietie. If, I ſay, there were nothing els but this, it were ſufficient to withdraw a good Chriſtian from the uſing of them; for ſo often as they goe to thoſe howſes where players frequent, thei goe to Venus pallace, and Sathans ſynagogue to worſhip devils, and betray Chriſt Jeſus.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I have hard ſome hold opinion that they be as good as ſermons, and that many a good example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blaſphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes and bawdy interluds comparable to the word of God, the foode of life, and life it ſelfe? It is all one, as if they had ſaid, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, ſcurrilitie, and divelrie it ſelf is equall with the word of God; or that the devill is equi-potent with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his bleſſed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our ſalvation; the devill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our deſtruction, and will they yet compare the one with the other? If he be accuſed that calleth light darknes, and darknes light, truth falſhood, and falſhood truth, ſweet ſowre, and ſowre ſweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accuſed that faith that playes and enterluds be equivalent with ſermons. Beſides this, there is no miſchief which theſe plaiers maintain not. For do they not noriſh ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes is the mother of vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly lectures and ſermons? For you ſhall have them flocke thither, thick and threefould, when the Church of God ſhalbe bare and emptie; and thoſe that wil never come at ſermons wil flow thither apace. The reaſon is, for that the number of Chriſt his elect is but few,

and the number of the reprobat is many; the way that leadeth to life is narow, and few tread that path; the way that leadeth to death is brod and many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Saviour Chrif) but of the devill, whose exercyfes they go to vifite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, infinuat folery, and renue the remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not induce whordom and unclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine devourers of maydenly virginitie and chaftitie? For prooffe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to theaters and curtens, daylie and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to fee playes and enterludes; where fuch wanton geftures, fuch bawdie fpeeches, fuch laughing and flering, fuch kissing and buffing, fuch clipping and culling, fuche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like is ufed as is wonderfull to behold. Than, thefe goodly pageants being done, every mate forts to his mate, every one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their fecret conclaves (covertly) they play the Sodomits, or worfe. And thefe be the fruits of playes and enterluds for the moft part. And wheras you fay there are good examples to be learned in them, trulie fo there are: if you will learne falshood; if you will learn cofenage; if you will learn to deceive; if you will learn to play the hipocrit, cogge, lye, and falstie; if you will learn to jeft, laugh, and fceer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to playe the Vice, to fwear, teare, and blafpheme both heaven and earth: if you will learn to become a bawde, uncleane, and to deverginat mayds, to deflour honeft wyves: if you will learne to murther, flaie, kill, picke, fteal, robbe, and rove: if you will learn to rebel

Wherfore
many flock to
fee playes and
enterluds.

The fruits of
theaters and
playes.

The goodly
examples of
playes and
enterluds.

What things
are to be
lerned at
playes.

Theaters
schooles or
feminaries of
pseudo chris-
tianitie.

A dyvine
premunire.

What it is to
communicate
with other
mens finnes.

An exhorta-
tion to plaiers.

The ignomy
due to players.

against princes, to commit treafons, to consume treasurs, to practife ydlenes, to sing and talke of bawdie love and venery: if you will lerne to deride, scoffe, mock, and flowt, to flatter and smooth: if you will learn to play the whore-maister, the glutton, drunkard, or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, hawtie, and arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne God and al his lawes, to care neither for heaven nor hel, and to commit al kinde of sinne and mischeef, you need go to no other schoole, for all these good examples may you see painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherfore that man who giveth money to the maintenance of them must needs incurre the damage of *premunire*, that is, eternall damnation, except they repent. For the apostle biddeth us beware, least wee communicat with other mens finnes; and this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, and maintain evil to the destruction of them selves and many others, but also a maintaining of a great sorte of idle lubbers, and buzzing dronets, to suck up and devoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees should live.

Therefore I beseech all players and founders of plaies and enterludes, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, as they tender the salvation of their soules, and others, to leave of that cursed kind of life, and give them selves to such honest exercises and godly misteries as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their livings withall: for who wil call him a wise man that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? Who can call him a Christian who playeth the part of a devil, the sworne enemy of Christe? Who can call him a just man that playeth the part of a dissembling hypocrite? And, to be brief, who can call him a straight deling man, who playeth

a cofoners trick? And so of all the rest. Away therefore with this so infamous an art! for goe they never so brave, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? Live they not uppon begging of every one that comes? Are they not taken by the lawes of the realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speake of such as travaile the cuntries with playes and enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought to be punished, if they had their deserts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the last, I will say no more of them, beseeching them to consider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, and to provoke his wrath and heaveie displeasure against them selves and others; which the Lord of his mercie turn from us!

Players live
upon begging.

Players count-
ed rogues by
the lawes of
the realm.

Spud. Of what sorte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it self caryeth a taste of some notorious evil.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna.

Philo.

The name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, and such as the very heathen people would have blushed at once to have named amongst them. And if the name importeth some evil, then, what may the thing it selfe be, judge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil shewe you as I have seen them practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the parish, conventing together, chuse them a graund-captain (of all mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of my Lord of Mis-rule, and him they crowne with great solemnitie and adopt for their king. This king anointed chuseth forth twentie, fortie, three-

Lords of
Mis-rule in
Ailgna.

The manner
how Lords of
Mis-rule are
used to be
played.

The monstrous
attyring of
my Lord of
Misrules men.

The rablement
of the devils
garde.

The behaviour
of the devils
band in the
temple of God.

Receptacles in
the cemeteries
or church
yards for the
devils agents.

score or a hundred lustie guttes, like to him self, to waight
uppon his lordly Majestie, and to guarde his noble person.
Then, everie one of these his men he investeth with his
liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour;
and as though they were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should
say, they bedecke them selves with scarfs, ribons and laces
hanged all over with golde rings, precious stones, and other
jewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx or xl bels,
with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid
a crosse over their shoulders and necks, borrowed for the
most parte of their pretie Mopsies and looving Besses, for
buffing them in the dark. Thus al things set in order, then
have they their hobby-horses, dragons and other antiques,
together with their baudie pipers and thundering drummers
to strike up the devils daunce withall. Then, marche these
heathen company towards the church and church-yard,
their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps
dauncing, their bels jynghing, their handkercheifs swinging
about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and
other monsters skirmishing amongst the route: and in this
forte they go to the church (I say) and into the church,
(though the minister be at praier or preaching), dancing
and swinging their handkercheifs over their heds in the
church, like devils incarnate, with such a confuse noife, that
no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people
they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, and mount
upon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants
solemnized in this fort. Then, after this, about the church
they goe againe and again, and so soorth into the church-
yard, where they have commonly their sommer haules,
their bowers, arbors, and banqueting houses set up, wherin

they feast, banquet and daunce al that day and (peradventure) all the night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

They have also certain papers, wherin is painted some bablerie or other of imagery woork, and these they call my Lord of Misrules badges : these they give to every one that wil give money for them to maintaine them in their hethenrie, divelrie, whordome, drunkennes, pride, and what not. And who will not be buxom to them, and give them money for these their devilish cognizances, they are mocked and flouted at not a little. And so affoted are some, that they not only give them monie to maintain their abomination withall, but also weare their badges and cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede ; for these are badges, seales, brands, and cognizances of the devil, whereby he knoweth his servants and clyents from the children of God ; and so long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem suam* : they fight under the banner and stander of the devil against Christ Jesus, and all his lawes. Another sorte of fantastickall fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of Mis-rule and his complices) some bread, some good ale, some new-cheefe, some olde, some custards, and fine cakes ; some one thing, some another ; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the devil and Sathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands ; which God graunt they may !

My Lord of
Misrules
cognizances.

Wearing the
Lord of Mis-
rules badges.

Sacrifice
brought to
this filthy
ydol, my L.
of Misrule.

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the sabaoth (the Lord knoweth), and more pestilent then pestilence it self. But what ? be there any abuses in their May-games like unto these ?

The order of
their May-
games.

A great lord
present in May
games as
superintendent
therof.

The manner
of bringing
home their
May-poles.

May-poles
pattern of the
hethen ydols.

The frute of
May-games.

Philo. As many as in the other. The order of them is thus: Against May, Whitsonday, or other time, all the young men and maides, olde men and wives, run gadding over night to the woods, groves, hils, and mountains, where they spend all the night in pleasant pastimes; and in the morning they return, bringing with them birch and branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. And no mervaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord over their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the chiefeest jewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They have twentie or fortie yoke of oxen, every ox having a sweet nose-gay of flowers placed on the tip of his hornes; and these oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking ydol, rather) which is covered all over with floures and hearbs, bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children following it with great devotion. And thus being reared up with handkercheefs and flags hovering on the top, they straw the ground rounde about, binde green boughes about it, set up sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; and then fall they to daunce about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I have heard it credibly reported (and that *viva voce*) by men of great gravitie and reputation, that of fortie, three-score, or a hundred maides going to the wood over night, there have scarcely the third part of them returned home againe undefiled. These be the frutes which these cursed pastimes bring forth. Neither the Jewes, the Turcks,

Sarafins, nor Pagans, nor any other nation, how wicked or barberous so ever, have ever used such devilish exercises as these; nay, they would have been ashamed once to have named them, much lesse have used them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse. The Lord forgive us, and remoove them from us!

Spud. What is the manner of their Church ales, which you say they use; for they seem uncouth and straunge to mine eares?

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

The manner of them is thus: In certaine townes where drunken Bachus beares all the sway, against a Christmas, an Easter, Whitsonday, or some other time, the church-wardens (for so they call them) of every parish, with the consent of the whole parish, provide half a score or twenty quarters of mault, wherof some they buy of the church-stock, and some is given them of the parishioners them selves, every one conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault being made into very strong ale or beere, it is set to sale, either in the church, or some other place assigned for that purpose.

The manner
of church-ales
in Ailg.

Then, when the *Nippitatum*, this huf-cap (as they call it) and this nectar of lyfe, is set abroche, wel is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the moste at it; for he that sitteth the closest to it, and spends the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest; but who either cannot, for pinching povertie, or otherwise, wil not stick to it, he is counted one destitute both of vertue and godlynes. In so

The filthiest
beast, the
godlyest man.

much as you shall have many poor men make hard shift for money to spend therat, for it beeing put into this Corban, they are perswaded it is meritorious and a good service to God. In this kinde of practise they continue six weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer together, swilling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke as apes, and as blockish as beasts.

Spud. Seeing they have so good utterance, it should seeme they have good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

How the
money is spent
which is got by
churchales.

Philo. Oh! well, I warrant you, if all be true which they say: for they repaire their churches and chappels with it; they buy bookes for the service, cuppes for the celebration of the sacrament, suppleesses for Sir Jhon, and such other necessaries; and they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the parishes besydes. These be their exceptions, these be their excuses, and these be their pretended allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conveigh themselves away invisibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

Wil the Lord
have his house
build with
maintenance
of evill?

For if it were so that they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will have howse build with drunkenesse, gluttony, and such like abomination? Must we do evill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stone with the defolation and utter overthrow of his spirituall howse, clenfed and washed in the precious blood of our Saviour Jhesus Christ? But who seeth not that they bestow this money upon nothing lesse than in building and repaying of churches and oratories? For in most places lye they not like swyn coates? their windowes rent, their doores broken, their walles fall downe, the roose all bare, and

what not out of order? Who seeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn, covered in duft, so as this epitaphe may be writ with ones finger upon it, *Ecce nunc in pulvere dormio?* Alas! behold I sleep in duft and oblyvion, not once scarfe looked uppon, much lesse red uppon, and the least of all preached uppon. And, on the other side, who seeth not (for this I speak but in way of parenthesis) in the mean tyme, their owne howfes and mansion places are curiously build, and sumptuously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather bestow this drunken got-money uppon prophane uses and their own privat affaires, than upon the howse of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may say black is their eye: for why? thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they say; and when time commeth, like good accountantes, they make their accoumptes as please themselves.

The decay of churches, which are laur at rent and torn.

Sumpteousnes of their owne mansions.

Sp. Were it not better, and more consonant to the truth, that every one contributed somewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of templaries and oratories, than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you say thei do?

Philo. It weare much better. And so we read, the fathers of the Old Testament, every one after his abilitie, did impart somewhat to the building and restauration of the tabernacle which Moyfes erected to the Lord; so as in the end there was such aboundance of all things, as the artificers, consulting with Moyfes, were glad to request the people to stay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. These people made no drunken churchales to build their edefice withal, notwithstanding their im-

Churges are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of every one after his power.

portable charges and intollerable costes. But as their zeal was fervent, and very commendable in bringing to the church, so our zeal is more than frozen and blame worthy in detracting from the church, and bestowing it upon whoredom, drunkenesse, gluttony, pride, and such like abominations: God amend it!

Our zeal
waxen cold
and frozen
in respect of
the zeal of the
former world.

Spud. How do they solemnise their feastes and wakeffes there; and what order do they observe in them?

The maner of keeping of Wakeffes, and Feasts in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

This is their order therein: every towne, parishe, and village, some at one tyme of the yeere, some at another (but so that every towne, parish, and village keep his proper day assigned and appropriat to it self, which they call their week day) use to make great preparation and ordenaunce for good cheer. To the which all their freends and kynsfolks, farre and neer, are invited, wher is such gluttony, such drunkenesse, such saturitie and impletion used as the like was never seen: in so much as the poore men, that beare the charges of these feasts and wakeffes are the poorer, and keep the worser howses a long tyme after. And no marvel, for manie spend more at one of these wakeffes than in all the whole yeer besides. This makes many a one to thripple and pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to utter ruine and decay.

Saturitie in
feasts and
wakeffes.

The great
charges of
wakeffes.

Spud. Wold you not have one freend to visite another at certain tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I disallowe it not, but much commend it. But

why at one determinat day more than at another (except busines urged it); why should one and the same day continue for ever, or be distinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more excesse of meates and drinks at that day than at another? why should they abstaine from bodely labor ij or three dayes after, peradventure the whole week, spending it in drunkennesse, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie sodomiticall exercyses.

Against wakes
and feasts.

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one freend to visite another, would you not have them to congratulat their comming with some good cheer?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of such excesse of ryot and superfluitie as is there used. I thinke it convenient for one freend to visite another (at sometimes) as oportunitie and occasion shall offer it selfe; but wherfore should the whole towne, parish, village, and cuntrey keepe one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they doo? And therefore, to conclude, they are to no end, except it be to draw a great frequencie of whores, drabbes, thieves, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunkennesse, thieft, murther, swearing, and all kind of mischief and abomination; for these be the ends wherto these feastes and wakeffes doo tende.

Wherto
wakeffes and
feasts do very
aply tend.

Spud. From whence sprang these feasts and wakeffes first of all; can you tell?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen people, who, whan they were assembled together, and had offred sacrfices to ther wodden goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets together before them, in honour and reverence of them, so appointed the same yeerly to be observed in memoriall of the same for ever. But whence

From whence
these annuall
feasts and
stacionarie
wakeffes had
their begin-
ning.

foever they had their exordium, certen it is the devill was the father of them, to drown us in perdition, and destruction of body and foule: which God forefend!

Sp. As I remember, you spoke of dauncing before, inferring that the sabaoth is greatly prophaned therby: wherof, I pray you, shew mee your judgement.

The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, used
in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

Dauncing, as it is used (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to whordom, a preparative to wantonnes, a provocative to uncleanes, and an introite to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercise to the mind, or a holsome practise for the body: yet, notwithstanding, in Ailg. both men, women, and children, are so skilfull in this laudable science, as they may be thought nothing inferiour to Cynædus, the prostitut ribauld, nor yet to Sardanapalus, that effeminat varlet. Yea, they are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing, thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen divelrie: and yet this people glory of their Christianitie and integritie of life. Indeed, *verbo tenus Christiani boni vocitantur*, but *vita et moribus Ethnicis et Paganis pejores reperiuntur*: from the mouth outward they may be said to be good Christians, but in life and maners farre worfer than the heathen or Paganes. Wherof if they repent not and amend, it shalbe easier for that land of Sodoma and Gomorra, at the day of judgement, then for them.

Spud. I have heard it said, that dauncing is both a recrea-

Scholes of
dauncing
erected.

tion for the minde, and also an exercyse for the body, very holfome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby love is acquired.

Ph. I will not much denie but being used in a meane, in tyme and place conveniente, it is a certen solace to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleasur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie is true rather: for this is (*basis veritatis*) a ground of truth, that whatsoever a carnall man, with uncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable and wicked before God. As, on the other side, what the spirituall man regenerat, and borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: and seeing mans nature is too proclive of it selfe to sinne, it hath no need of allurements and allections to sin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints and inhibitions from the same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and bussing, what smouching and flabbering one of another, what filthie groping and uncleane handling is not practised in those dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chaste eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed forth in their bawdy gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow up Venus cole or not, who is so blind that seeth not? wherefore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abusively used to expresse the joyes or delightes of the mind, which signifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but but rather a corrosive most sharp and nipping. For seeing that it is evill in it self, it is not a thing wherein a Christian

Dauncing a pleasure to them that delight in vanities.

What allurements to vice lay in dauncing.

Dauncing no recreation, but a corrosive to a good Christian.

The onely
thing wherin
a good Christ-
tian doth
delight.

Dancing no
holosome exer-
cise for the
body.

What loove
dancing pro-
cureth.

mans heart may take any comfort. The onely *summum bonum*, wherin a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Jesus Christ, the effusion of his blood, the remission of sins, and the contemplation of the ineffable joyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Jesus Christ. This is the only thing wherin a Christian man ought to rejoyse and take delight in, all other pleasures and delights of this lyfe set a parte as amarulent and bitter, bringing forth fruit to eternall destruction, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they conclude it is a holosome exercise for the bodie, the contrary is most true; for I have knowen divers by the immoderate use therof have in short time become decrepit and lame, so remaining to their dying day. Some have broke their legs with skipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and some have come by one hurt, some by another, but never any came from thence without some parte of his minde broken and lame, such a wholsome exercise it is. But, say they, it induceth love: so say I also; but what love? Truly, a lustful love, a venereous love, a concupiscencious, boudie, and bestiall loove, such as proceedeth from the stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection and fleshly appetite, and not such as distilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the spirit of God.

Wherefore I exhort them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to eschue not only from evil, but also from all apperance of evil, as the Apostle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; until they growe to perfect men in Christe Jesus, knowing that we must give accounts at the day of judgment of every minut and jote of time, from the day of our birth to the time of our death: for there is nothing

more precious then time, which is given us to glorifie God in good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercifes after our owne fantasies and delights.

We must render accounts for time heer lent us.

Spud. But I have heard them affirme that dauncing is provable by the woord of God; for (say they) did not the women come foorth of all the cities of Israel to meet king Saule? and David, returning from the slaughter of Goliath, with pfalteries, flutes, tabrets, cymbals, and other musicall instruments, dauncing and leaping before them? Did not the Israelites, having passed over the Red Sea, bring foorth their instruments, and danced for joy of their deliverance?

1 Sa. 18.
Exo. 15.

Exo. 32.

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden calf, which they had made in Horeb or Sinai? Did not king David daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the daughter of Jephtah daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her father from the feild? Did not the women of the Israelits dance comming to visit the good Judith? Did not the damfel dance before king Herod? Did not Christ blame the people for their not dancing when he said, Wee have pyped unto you, but you have not daunced?

2 Sa. 6.

Judic. 11.
Judic. 15.

Mat. 14;
Luc. 7.

Saith not Salomon, there is a time to weep, and a time to laugh, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce?

Eccle. 3.

And dooth not the Prophet David, in many places of his Psalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing upon instruments of musick?

Wherefore (for thus they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (wherof some were guided by the instinction of God his spirit) have not only taught it in doctrine, but also expressed it by their examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it?

No man with-
out errors
both in lyfe
and doctrine.

1 Sa. 18.

The first
pillare of
dauncing
overthrowen.

No good con-
sequent to say
others did so,
ergo it is
good, or we
may doo the
like.

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Homini est errare, decipi et labi*: it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceived and to slide from the trueth. Therefore the Apostle saith, Follow mee in all things as I follow Christ; but to the intent that they, who perpend the examples of the Fathers and Scripture falsly wrested to maintaine their devilish dauncings withall, may see their owne impietie and grosse ignorance discovered, I wil compendiously set down the true fence and meaning of every place, as they have cyted them perticularly. For the first, wheras they say that the women came forth in daunces with timbrels and instruments of joy to meet David and Saule, I aske them for what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very joye of hart for their victorie gotten over the Philistines, their sworne enemies? Was it in prayse of God, or to stirre up filthie lust in them selves, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? Did men and women daunce together, as is now used to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so saith the text, The women came forth, &c. But admit it were neither so, nor so, will they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? It is no good reason to say, such and such did so, therefore it is good, or we may doo so; but all things are to be poysed in the balance of holy Scripture, and therby to be allowed or disallowed, according to the meaning of the Holy Ghost, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The Israelitish women, hearing the same of David, and how he had killed their deadly enemy Goliath, came forth to meet him playing upon instruments, dancing and singing songs of joye and thanks-giving to the Lord, who

had given them the victorie, and delivered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who fought their destruction every way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, vice and ubiquitarie dauncings, for so I may call them because they may be used every where, let the godly judge. Who seeth not rather that this example (let Cerberus the dog of hel alatrare what he list to the contrary) cleane overthroweth them. Theirs was a goodly kind of dancing in praise of God, ours a lustful, baudie kinde of demenour in praise of our selves: theirs to shew their inward joy of minde for the blessings of God bestowed upon them; ours to show our activitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure lustful loove and such like wickednes infinit. But to their second allegation: the children (say they) of Israel danced being delivered out of the servitude of Pharo, and having passed over the Red Sea. I graunt they did so, and good cause they had so to doo; for were they not emancipate and set free from three great calamities and extreame miseries? First, from the servile bondage of Egypt; from the swoord of Pharo, who pursued the rereward of their hoste; and from the danger of the Red Sea, their enemies beeing over whelmed in the same.

For these great and inestimable benefits and blessings, received at the hands of God, they played upon instruments of musick, leaped, daunced and sung godly songs unto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures the inward joy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly against them? They danced for joy in thanks to God, wee for vaine glorie: they for loove to God, wee for loove of our selves: they to shew the interior joy of the minde for God

The difference between the dances of our forefathers and ours.

Their second pillar shaken.

How the Israelitis danced.

his blessing heaped upon them ; we to shew our concinitie, dexteritie and vaine curiositie in the same ; they to stir up and to make them selves the apter to praise God ; we to stir up carnall appetites and fleshlie motions : they to shew their humilitie before God ; and we to shew our pride both before God and the world. But how so ever it be, sure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, consisting in measures, capers, quavers, and I cannot tel what, for thei had no such leasure in Egipt to learne such vaine curiosity in that lustfull bawdie schoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this may be called a dauncing or not, at lest not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modest leaping, skipping or mooving of the body to expresse the joye of the mind in prayse of God ; as the man did, who, being healed by the power of our Saviour Christe, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping and praising God.

The dauncing of our forfathers mai not be called a dauncing, but rather a godly triumphing and rejoycing in heart for joy.

We never read that they ever daunced but at some wonderfull portent or straunge judgment of God ; and therefore made not a common practife of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were, much lesse set up schools of it, and frequenting nothing els night and day, Sabaoth day and other, as we do. But to their third reason : The Israelits daunced before the calf in Horeb. And what than ? They made a golden calf and adored it : may we therefore do the like ? They committed ydolatrie there ; therefore is ydolatrie good because they committed it ?

Their 3 reason examined.

Adam disobeyed God, and obeyed the devil : is obedience therfore to the devil good, because hee did so ?

Therefore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to

be doon, and that followe even to the death. But, to be short, as it is a frivolous thing to say, because they committed idolatrie therfore may wee doo the like, so it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the same; for as it was not lawfull to commit idolatrie because they did so, so it is not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

So that if this place inferre any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must never daunce but before a golden calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. Therfore of this place I need to say no more, giving them to note that this their dauncing, in respect to the end thereof, was farre dissonant from ours; for they daunced in honour of their idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand toller-able.

Their fourth reason: Did not David daunce before the Ark? say they. Very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women together moste excellentlie; for David danced him selfe alone, without either woman or muscally instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of David was no usuall thing, nor frequented every day, but that one time, and that in prayse of God for the deliverie of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the infidels and hethen people: the joy of this holy prophet was so vehement for this great blessing of God (such a fervent zeale he bore to the trueth), that it burst forth into exterior action, the more to induce others to prayse God also. Would God we would dance, as David daunced, heer for the deliverie of his saving word out of the hands of the Italian Philistin

Their 4 reason.

Why David
daunced be-
fore the ark.

and archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of Roome! for in this respect I would make one to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and rejoyce as David did before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man seeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude dancing, and bawdie chorufses, as they did by citing the former places; that is, just nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and see never the wurffe.

Their fift re-
son examined.

Their fift reason: Did not Jeptath his daughter meet her father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing uppon instruments of joy? Jeptath, going foorth to warre against the Amonites, promised the Lord (making a rashe vowe) that if it would please his majestie to give him victorie over his enemies, he wold sacrifice the first lyving thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his sole daughter and heire, hearing of her fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the cuntrey was), ran foorth to meete her father, playing uppon instruments in prayse of God, and dauncing before him for joye. Now, what prooveth this for their daunces? Truly, it overthroweth them, if it be well considered: first we read that she did this but once, we daylie: she in prayse of God, we in prayses of our selves: she for joy of her fathers good succeffe, we to stir up filthie and uncleane motions: she with a virginall gravitie, we with a babish levitie: she in comly maner, we in bawdie gesture. And, moreover, this sheweth that women are to daunce by themselves (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themselves; for so importeth the text, making no mention of any other of her colleagues or companions dancing with her.

Wherefore and
how the
daughter of
Jeptath
daunced.

Their 6 reason.

Their vi reason: Did not the Israelitish women daunce

before Judith, comming to visit her? I graunt they did so: the storie is thus:

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the Israelits, the
the chosen people of God, and intending to overthrowe them
and to blot out their remembrance for ever from under
heaven, assembled a huge power, and besieged them on
every side. Judith, ca. 15.

The Israelits, seeing themselves circumvalled, and in great
daunger on each side, suborned good Judith, a vertuous,
godlye woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie
wrought, it was unpossible for them in the eyes of the world
to have escaped) to repaire to Holofernes, and, by some
meanes or other, to work his destruction: who, guided by
the hand of God, attempted the thing and brought it
happely to passe. For she cut of his head with his owne
fauchine, wrapping his bodie in the canopie wherein he lay,
sleepingly posselt as he was with the spirit of drunkenesse:
this done, the women of Israell came together, and went to
visit this worthie woman, and to congratulat her prosperous
successe with instruments of musick, singing of godly songs,
and dauncing for joye in honour and prayse to God for this
great victorie obtained. Now, who seeth not that these
women sang, daunced, and played uppon instrumentes in
prayse of God, and not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes,
as commonly the world doth now adaies? This also over-
throweth the dauncinges of men and women together in one
companie; for though there was an infinite number of people
by, yet the text faith, there daunced none but onely women,
which plainly argueth the unlawfulness of it in respecte of
man. And this being but a particular fact, of a sort of im-
prudent women, shall we draw it into an example of lyfe,
and thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

*Judith cutteth
of the head of
Holofernes.*

*The unlawfull-
nes of daunc-
ing of men
and women
together.*

A custome to
daunce in
praise of God.

It was a custome in those dayes, when God had powred forth any notable blessing upon his people, from his heavenly pallace, the people, in honour, praise, and thanksgiving to God for them, would play upon their instruments, sing godly songs, daunce, leape, skip, and triumphe, shewing forth the joye of their mindes, with their thankfulness to God by all exteriour gestures that they could devise: which kinde of thankfull dauncing, or spirituall rejoycing, wold God we did follow, leaving all other wanton dancing to their father the devill!

Ther 7 reason.

Their vij reason: Did not (quoth they) the damosell daunce before kinge Herode, when the head of John Baptist was cut of? She daunced, in deed; and herein they maye see the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: for was not this the cause of the beheading of John the Baptist? See whether dauncing styreth not up lust, and inflameth the mind; for if Herode with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her love, and ravished in her behaviour, that he promised her to give her whatsoever she wold desire, though it were half of his emperie or kingdome, what wold he have beene if he had daunced with her? And what are they that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with buffing and kissing, flabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I have heard many impudently say that they have chosen their wyves, and wyves their husbands, by dauncing; which plainly proveth the wickednesse of it.

Dauncing
styreth up
lust.

Their 8 reason.

Luc. 7.

Their viij reason: Did not Christ rebuke the people for not dauncing, saying, We have pyper unto you, but you have not daunced? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a pyper, or a minstrell, as that he allowed

of dauncing, or reproved them for not exerceyng the fame. This is a metaphoricall or allegoricall kinde of speach, wherein our Saviour Christ goeth about to reprove and checke the styfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of the Scribes and Pharisees, who were neither mooved to receive the glad tydings of the gospell by the austeritie of John the Baptiste, who came preaching unto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort ; neither yet at the preaching of our Saviour him selfe, breaking into them the pure ambrosia, the cælestial manna, the word of life, in joyfull and gladsome maner.

The more
than obdurat
hardnes of the
Jewes.

Jhon the Baptist he piped unto them, that is, he preached unto them austeritie of life, to mourn for their sinnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Saviour Christ he pyped (that is) preached unto them the glad and comfortable tidynge of the gospell, yet at neither of these kinde of concions they were any whit moved, either to imbrace Christ or his gospell : wherefore he sharply rebuketh them by a similitude of foolish children, sitting in the market place and piping unto them that wold not daunce. This is the true undoubted fence of this place, which whether it overthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at lest maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing, and rejoycing of the heart unto God (that I may suspend my owne judgement) let wyse determine.

Their ix reason : Saith not Salomon, there is a time to weep, and a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce ? This place is directly against their usuall kinde of dauncing ; for saith not the text, there is a time, meaning sometime, now and than, as the Israelites did in prayse of God, when anie notable thing happened unto them, and

Eccle. 3.
Their 9 reason.

Salomon
meaneth a
certain kind of
a spirituall
dauncing or
rejoyfing of
the heart.

not every daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, never leaving it, until it cleane leave us. But what and if Salomon speaketh here of a certain kind of spirituall dauncing and rejoyfing of the heart in praise of God? This is easily gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (vz. there is a time to mourn and a time to dance, &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our sinnes, and a tyme to daunce or rejoyse for the unspeakable treasures purchaséd unto us by the death and passion of Jesus Christ. How much this place maketh for the defence of their nocturnall, diurnall, wanton, lewde, and lascivious dauncing (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true judgement) all the world may see and judge.

Their ultimum
refugium.

And now, to draw to an end, I will come unto their *ultimum refugium*: that is, Doth not David both commend, and also commaund dauncing and playing upon instruments in diverse of his Psal. ? In all those places the prophet speaketh of a certain kind of spirituall dauncing and rejoyfing of the heart to the Lord, for his graces and benefits in mercie bestowed upon us. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes, skip like goats, and leap like mad men: For to that end our feet were not given us, but rather to represent the image of God in us, to keep companie with the angels, and to glorifie our heavenly Father thorow good works.

Why our feet
were given us.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of dauncing as wicked and prophane?

Ph. All lewde, wanton and lascivious dauncing in publique assemblies and conventicles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, person, or any thing els, I, by the

warrant of the word of God, do utterly condemne : but that kind of dauncing which is used to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either privatly or publicly is at no hand to be dyfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be used for mans comfort, recreation and godly pleasure privatly (every sex distincted by themselves), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot but be a very tollerable exercise, being used moderatly and in the feare of God. And thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and uncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally; for certen it is, the exercyse it self, in its own nature, qualitie and proprietie, though to some it is lawfull, to other some unlawfull in dyverse respects, is both ancient and general, having been used ever in all ages, as wel of the godly, as of the wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherefore, when I condemne the same in some, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my judgement, as it is used now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyse, without any difference or respect had either to time, person, sex or place, in publicke assemblies and frequencies of people, with suche beastlie flabberings, buffings and smouchings, and other filthie gestures and misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as impossible to be used without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked man to lye in the midst of a hote burning fire, and not to consume. But these abuses, with other like (as there be legions moe of them) being cut of from the exercyse it selfe, the thing remayneth very commendable in some respectes. Or els, if our daunces tended, as I have said, to the setting forth of God his glorie (as the daunces

What dauncing is condemned by the word of God.

used in preter time did) to draw others to pietie and fancitie of life, and to prayse and rejoyce in God, to recreate the minde oppressed with some great toyle or labor, taken in true vertue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them selves, and women by them selves, for els it is not possible to be without sinne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is every where used, to the great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

Spud. And wherfore would you have men to daunce by them selves, and women by them selves?

Why men
shold daunce
by themselves
and women by
themselves.

Philo. Because it is, without all doubt, a provocation to lust and venery, and the fire of lust once conceived (by some irruption or other) bursteth forth into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therefore a certain godly Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni*, every leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in Ailgna it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion and advancement, as experience teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shewe mee what fathers and counsels have judged of it, and what they have writ and decreed against it.

Testimonies of
Fathers, coun-
cels and
writers against
dauncing.

Philo. If I should goe forth to shew all the invectives of fathers, all the decrees of counsels, and all the places of holy scripture against the same, I should never make an end: wherfore of many I wil select a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. Syrach faith, Frequent not the company of a woman that is a singer or dauncer, neither heare her, least thou be intrapped in her craftines. Chri-

foftome, dylating upon Matthew, faith, In every dance the devil daunceth by, for companie, though not vifible to the eye, yet palpable to the minde. Theophilus, writing upon Mark, the fixt chapter, faith, *Mira collufio saltat per puellam diabolus*: this is wunderfull deceit, for the devil danceth amongft them for company. Auguftine, writing upon the 32 Pſalme, faith, it is better to digge all the fabaoth day then to dance. Eraſmus, in his booke *De contemptu Mundi*, faith, Whoſe minde is ſo well diſpoſed, ſo ſtable, or ſo wel ſetled, which theſe wanton dances, with ſwinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing upon inſtruments, and ſuch like, would not overcome and corrupt? Wherefore, faith he, as thou deſireſt thine owne credit and welfare, eſchew theſe ſcabbed and ſcurvy companie of dauncers.

Eccl. 13.

Mat. 4.

Auguſtine.

Eraſmus.

Ludovicus Vives faith, Amongſt all pleaſures, dauncing and voluptuouſnes is the kingdome of Venus, and the empire of Cupid: wherefore, faith hee, it were better for thee to ſtay at home, and to break either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy minde and foule, as thou doeſt in filthie ſcurvy dauncings. And, as in all feaſts and paſtimes, dauncing is the laſt, ſo it is the extream of all other vice. And again, There were (faith he) from far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, when they ſaw men daunce, ran away mer-velouſly afraid, crying out, and thinking them to have been mad. And no mervaille, for who, ſeeing them leap, ſkip, and trip like goates and hindes, if hee never ſaw them before, would not think them either mad, or els poſſeſt with ſome furie? Bullinger, paraphraſting upon Mathew 14, faith, After feaſting, ſwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and uncleannes.

Lodovicus
Vives.Dauncers
thought to be
mad-men.

Bullinger.

Calvin.

Maister Calvin, writing upon Job, Ser. 8, cap. 12, calleth dauncing the cheefe mischeef of all mischeefs, saying, there be such unchast gestures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

Marlorate, upon Mathew, faith, Whofoever hath any care either of honestie, sobrietie, or gravitie, have long since bad adieu to all filthie dauncing.

No man (faith a certaine heathen writer) if hee be sober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

Salust.

Salustius, commending Sempronia, that renowned whore, for many godly gifts, condemneth her for her over great skill in dauncing; concluding, that dauncing is the instrument of lecherie.

Cicero.

Cicero faith, a good man would not daunce in open assemblies, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of Laodecea decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any sollemne feast.

In an other council it was enacted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

The emperour Justinian decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the beholders, and inticing men to sinne.

All writers,
bothe holy and
profane,
againſt
dauncing.

Dauncing a
world of sin.

Thus you may see, bothe scripture, counsels, and fathers, holy and profane, heathen and other, even all in generall, have detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the quavemire or plash all of abomination, and therefore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth up the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, and ministreth oile to the stinking lamp of deceitfull pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and sinne.

Spud. Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you, who invented this noble science, or from whence sprang it?

Philo. Heereof there be fundry and divers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous pagans and infidels, who, having offered up their sacrifices, victimats, and holocaustes, to their false gods, in reverence of them, and for joy of their so being, used to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

Who invented
dauncing, and
from whom it
sprang.

And this may be proved by the Israelits themselves, who, having seen and learned the same practise in Egypt, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of Horeb. Some, again, suppose that Pyrrhus, one of the Sibils preists, devised it in Creet. Others holde that the priests of Mars, who in Roome were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, invented it. Others think that one Hiero, a truculent and bloody tirant in Sicilia, who, to set up his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of insurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inventing therof: for when the Sicilians sawe that they might not, under pain of death, one speak to another, they invented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exteriour gestures of the body; which use afterward grew into custome, and now into nature. But what soever men say of it, or from whence soever it sprang, S. Chrysostom saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the devils brest, from whence all mischief els dooth flow. Therefore, to conclude, if of the egges of a cokatrice may be made good food meat for man to eat, and if the web of a spider can be made good cloth

A supposall
who invented
dauncing.

Unpossible
that dancing
should be
good.

for mans body, then may it be prooved that dancing is good, and an exercise fitte for a Christian man to followe, but not before. Wherefore God of his mercy take it away from us!

Spud. What say you to musick? is it not a laudable science?

Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth
to vanitie.

Philo.

I say of musick as Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and many others have said of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice, smoothe sweetnes in alluring the auditorie to nicenes, effeminacie, pusillanimitie, and lothsomnes of life, so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie itself; for as honie and such like sweet things, received into the stomack, dooth delight at first, but afterward they make the stomack so quassie, nice and weake that it is not able to admit meat of hard digesture: so sweet musick at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the minde, making it weake and quassie, and inclined to all licenciousnes of lyfe whatsoever. And right as good edges are not sharpned (but obtused) by beeing whetted upon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharpned, and made apt to all wantonnes and sinne. And therefore writers affirme Sappho to have been expert in musick, and therefore whorish.

A comparison
betwixt hony
and dancing.

Wits dulled
by musick.

Authors of the
bringing in of
musick.

Tyrus Maximus faith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poyson to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee ever heard any talking of loove, or playing upon muscall instruments, would run his way and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of musick, and faith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as pricks unto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres unto vertue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure musick by found and care. Thus you heare the judgement of the wise concerning musick: now judge therof as you list your self.

Spud. I have heard it said (and I thought it very true) that musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter to the service of God.

Philo. I graunt musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it redyer to serve God; and therfore did David bothe use musick him self, and also commend the use of it to his posteritie (and beeing used to that end, for mans privat recreation, musick is very laudable).

But beeing used in publike assemblies and private conventicles, as directories to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie and smoothe melodie therof, it esttraungeth the mind, stirreth up filthie lust, womanisheth the minde, raviltheth the hart, enflameth concupisence, and bringeth in uncleannes. But if musick openly were used (as I have said) to the praise and glory of God, as our fathers used it, and as was intended by it at the first, or privatly in a mans secret chamber or house, for his owne solace or comfort to drive away the fantasies of idle thoughts, solicitude, care, forrowe, and such other perturbations and molestations of

Musick the
good gift of
God.

Of musick in
publike assem-
blies and
conventicles.

How musicke
were tollerable
and good.

the minde, the only ends wherto true musick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable. If musick were thus used it would comfort man wunderfully, and moove his hart to serve God the better; but beeing used as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womanish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.

Spud. What say you, then, to musitions and minstrels, who live only upon the fame art?

The fearfity of
good musitions
and min-
strelles.

Philo. I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chaste musitions (speking of suche drunken sockets and bawdye parasits as range the cuntries, ryming and singing of uncleane, corrupt, and filthie songs in tavernes, ale-houses, innes, and other publique assemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how should thei bere chaste minds, seeing that their exercyse is the pathway to all uncleanes. Their is no ship so balanced with massie matter, as their heads are fraught with all kind of bawdie songs, filthie ballads and scurvie rymes, serving for every purpose, and for every companie.

The marchan-
dise of min-
strelles and
musitions.

Who be more bawdie than they? who uncleaner than they? who more licentious and loose minded? who more incontinent than they? and, briefly, who more inclyned to all kind of insolencie and lewdnes than they? Wherefore, if you wold have your sonne softe, womanish, uncleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, filthie rimes, and unsemely talking; brifly, if you wold have him, as it weare, transfured into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abomination, set him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than you shall not faile of your purpose. And if you would have your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and uncleane, and a filthie

The wickednes
of musitions
and minstrels.

speaker, and such like, bring her up in musick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you have won the goale.

How to have
children
lerned in all
wickednes.

And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of acceptation) to be a pyper, or bawdye minstrell than a devyne, for the one is looved for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his gravitie, wisdome, and sobrietie.

The scarcitie
of divynes.

Every towne, citie, and countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype up a daunce to the devill; but of dyvines so few there be, as they maye hardly be seene.

But some of them will reply, and say, What, Sir! we have lycenses from justices of peace to pype and use our minstrells to our best commoditie. Curfed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyving with the destruction of many thousands.

But have you a lycence from the arch-justice of peace, Christe Jesus? If you have so, you may be glad; if you have not (for the worde of God is against your ungodly exerceyses, and condemneth them to hell,) than may you as rogues, extravagantes, and straglers from the heavenly countrey be arrested of the high justice of peace, Christ Jesus, and be punished with eternall death, notwithstanding your presented licences of earthly men. Who shall stand betwixt you and the justice of God at the daye of judgement? Who shall excuse you for drawing so manye thousandes to hell? Shall the justices of peace? shall their licences? Oh, no; for neither ought they to graunt anye licences to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

Licences
graunted to
musitions and
minstrels to
exercee their
misyery or
facultie of
mischief.

No lycenses do
hurte withall
to begraunted.

Give over, therefore, your occupations, you pypers, you fiddlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you drummers, you tabretters, you fluters, and all other that wicked broode;

A caveat to
mulsions,
minfirelles,
and all others
of that flampe.

for the bloode of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your provocations and intyfyng allurements, shalbe powred uppon your heads at the day of iudgement. But hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like their humour.

Philo. Is it not lawfull uppon the fabaoth daye to playe at dice, cardes, tables, bowles, tennisse, and such other pleafaunt exerceyses, wherein man taketh pleasure and delight ?

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tennisse, Bowles, and other
exerceyses used unlawfully in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

Exerceyses un-
lawfull upon
the fabaoth
day.

Furta officiosa.

All wicked
games used in
Christmas
time.

These be no fabaothlike exerceyses for any christian man to follow anye day at all, much lesse uppon the fabaoth daye, which the Lord wold have to be consecrat to himselfe, and to be spent in holy and godly exerceyses, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowles, tennisse, and such like, thei are *furta officiosa*, a certen kind of smooth deceitfull, and sleightie thefte, wherby many a one is spoiled of all that ever he hath, sometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and soul for ever. And yet (more is the pitie) these be the onely exerceyses used in every mans howse, al the yeer thorow ; but specially in Christmas tyme, there is nothing els used but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, and such like fooleries. And the reason is this: they think they have a commission and prerogative that time to do what they lust, and to folow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priviledged at that tyme to doo evill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their

workes to be. Can anie time dispense with them, or give them libertie to sin? No, no: the foule which sinneth shall dye, at what time so ever it offendeth. But what will thei say? Is it not Christmas? must we not be mery? Truth it is, we ought, both than and at all times, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyfe; not to swill and gull more that time than any other time, not to lavish foorth more at that time that at other times.

No tyme
priviledged a
man to sinne.

But the true celebration of the feast of Chriftnas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat) uppon the incarnation and byrthe of Iesus Chrifft, not onely at that time, but all tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our selves thankful to his Majestie for the same. Notwithstanding, who is ignorant that more mischiefe is that time committed than in all the yeere besides? what masking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome, murther, and what no[t] is committed! what dicing and carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is then used more than in all the yeere besydes! to the great dishonor of God, and impoverishing of the realme.

The true
keeping of
Chriftnas.

Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Wickednes in
Chriftnas.

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their privat recreations, after some oppression of studie, to drive away fantasies and such like, I doubt not, but that they may, using it moderatly, with intermission and in the feare of God; but to play for lucre of gaine, and for desire onely of his brothers substaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no hand lawfull, or to be suffered.

Unlawful for
one Christian
to play with
another to
win his
money.

For as it is not lawfull to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or flaight, so is it not lawfull to get thy brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of theste, for these playes are no better; nay, worser than open theft; for open theft every man can be ware of, but this being a craftie polittick theft, and commonly don under pretence of freendship, few or none at all can beware of it. The commaundement faith, thou shalt not covet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy neighbour: now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye covet their brothers monie, but also use craft, falshood and deceit to wyne the same.

The Apostle forbiddeth us to use deceit in bargaining, in buying or selling; much lesse than ought we to use deceit in gaming.

Our Saviour Christ biddeth every man do to an other as he would another should do unto him. Which rule, if it weare duly observed, were sufficient to withdraw men both from all kynd of gameing, but also from all kynd of indirect and unjust dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man should wine thy money, so thou oughtest not to desire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou wouldest be done by.

Spud. If gameing for money be so unlawfull, wherfore are there howses and places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Philo. That excuseth not the fault, but aggravateth it rather. And truly great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be: for are they not the very seminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abomination, whatsoever heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

A rule to
restraine
unlawfull
gameing.

Gaming
howses with
their wicked-
nes.

And therefore I marveile, that those who keep and maintaine these gaming howses can ever have light hearts, or once looke up towards heaven, that not onely suffer this manifest theft in their howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourish the same.

The apostle faith, Not onely they that doo evill *digni sunt morte*, are worthie of death, but also *qui consentiunt facientibus*, those who consent to them that doo it.

Call to mind, than, what evils come of this wicked exercise, I beseeche you.

For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the name of God; doth not stinking whordome, theft, robbrie, deceit, fraude, cofenage, fighting, quareling, and sometymes murder; doth not pride, rapine, drunkn[e]s, beggerie, and, in fine, shamesfull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? wherefore I will not doubt to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the shambles, or block-houses of the devill, wherein he butchereth Christen mens foules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppress them!

Spud. Weare there ever anie lawes made against the inordinat abuse hereof? or have the godly in any age misliked it?

Philo. In all ages and times both the godly sober Christians have detested it, and holosome lawes have been promulgat against it.

Lawes and
sanctions
divulgat
against
gaming.

Octavius Augustus was greatly reproched of the writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

Cicero objected to Marcus Antonius his often gaming, as a note of infamie unto him.

The noble Lacedemonians sent their ambassadours to

The infamy
purchased by
gaming.

Corinth to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the people playing at dice and cards and unthrifitie games, returned back again (*infec̃ta pace*) their peace unconcluded, faying it ſhould never be reported that they wold joyne in league with dice-players and gameſters.

The ſame Lacedemonians ſent to Demetrius, in deriſion of his dice playing, a paire of dice of gold. Sir Thomas Eliot (that worthie knight) in his booke of Governace asketh, who will not think him a light man of ſmall credit, diſſolut, remiſe, and vaine, that is a dice-player or gameſter?

Laws againſt
gaming.

Publius ſaith, *Quanto peritior eſt alcator in ſua arte, tanto nequior eſt, et vita, et moribus*: how much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, ſo much corrupter is he both in life and maners. Juſtinian made a lawe that none ſhould play at dice, nor cards, for no cauſe, neither privately nor openly.

Alexander Severus baniſhed all gameſters out of his dominions; and if anie were found playing, their goods were conſiſcat, and they counted as mad men ever after, never truſted nor eſteemed of anie.

Ludovicus ordeined that all gameſters ſhould depart his land, for feare of corrupting others.

K. Richard the Second forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

Puniſhment
for gaming.

K. Henrie the Fourth ordeined that every dice-player ſhould be imprifoned ſix daies for every ſeverall time he offended in gaming.

K. Edward the Fourth ordeined, who ſo kept gaming howſes ſhould ſuffer imprifonment three yeeres, and forfeit xx. li. and the players to be imprifoned two yeeres and forfeit x. pound.

K. Henri the Seventh ordeined that every dice-player should be imprifoned all a day, and the keeper of the dicing howse to forfeit for every offence vi. shil. viij d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behaviour.

The penalty
for those that
keep gaming
howses.

K. Henrie the Eight ordeined that every one that kept dicing houfes should forfeit xl shil., and the players to forfeit vi shil. viij d., with many good lawes and fancies set foorth against this raging abuse of gaming ; which, to avoid tediousnes I omit, beseeching the Lord to root up and supplant these, and all other stumbling blocks in his church what so ever.

Sp. As I remember, in the catalogue of abuses before, you said, the fabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cock-fighting, hauking, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, and markets, upon the said day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow these exercyses upon the fabaoth day neither ?

Beare baiting and other exercyses, used
unlawfully in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

These hethnicall exercyses upon the fabaoth day, which the Lord hath consecrat to holy uses, for the glory of his name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For is not the baiting of a bear, besides that it is a filthie, stinking, and lothsome game, a daungerous and perilous exercyse ? wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an houre ; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercyse is this meet for any Christian ? What Christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all

No creature
to be abused.

for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, and seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, and whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be evil to us, and thirst after our blood, yet are they good creatures in their own nature and kind, and made to set forth the glorie and magnificence of the great God, and for our use; and therefore for his sake not to be abused. It is a [com]mon saying amongst all men, borrowed from the French, *Qui aime Jean, aime son chien*; love me, love my dog: so, love God, love his creatures.

God is abused
when his
creatures are
misused.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, would not he who oweth the dog think the abuse thereof resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse the creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, and yet think the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? But admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good creatures of God, yet it is not lawfull for us to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourelie as we do.

Keeping of
mastives and
bandogs.

And some, who take themselves for no small fooles, are so farre affotted that they will not stick to keep a dosen or a score of great mastives and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and wil not make anie bones of xx. xl. c. pound at once to hazard on a bait, with feight dog, feight beare (say they), the devill part all! And, to be plaine, I thinke the devill is the maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsoth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting these gentlemen of such reputation. But how much the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his sabaoth by such un-

favorie exercyses, his heavenly majistie of late hath reveiled, pouring soorth his heavie wrath, his fearfull judgements, and dreadfull vengeance uppon the beholders of these vanities.

A fearfull Example of God his Judgement upon
the Prophaners of his Sabaoth.

Upon the 13 day of Januarie last, being the sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the people, men, women, and children, both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking to these infamous places, where these wicked exercyses are usuallie practised, (for they have their courts, gardens, and yards for the same purpose) when they were all come together and mounted aloft upon their scaffolds and galleries, and in middest of al their jolytie and pastime, all the whole building (not one stick standing) fell down with a most wonderfull and fearefull confusion; so that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation), wherof seven were killed dead, some were wounded, some lamed, and other some brused and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines dasht out, some their heads all to squasht, some their legges broken, some their arms, some their backs, some their shoulders, some one hurt, some another. So that you should have hard a woful crie, even pearcing the skyes, parents bewayling their children, children their loving parents, wyves their husbands, and husbands their wyves, marvellous to behold! This wofull spectacle and heavie judgement, pittifull to heare of, but most ruefull to behold, did the Lord send down from heaven, to shew unto the whole world how greevously he is offended with those that spend his sabaoth

in fuch wicked exercifes; in the meane tyme, leaving his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to fhun the fame for feare of like or worfer judgement to come!

A fearfull Judgement of God, fhewed at
the Theaters.

The like judgement (almost) did the Lord fhew unto them a little befor, being affembled at their Theaters, to fee their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies practifed: for he caufed the earth mightely to shak and quaver, as though all would have fallen down; wherat the people, fore amazed, fome leapt down (from the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they flood) to the ground; wherof fome had their legs broke, fome their arms, fome their backs, fome hurt one where, fome another, and many fore crushed and brused; but not any but they went away store affraid, and wounded in confcience. And yet can neither the one nor the other fray them from thefe diuclifh exercyfes untill the Lord confume them all in his wrath; which God forbid! The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the majeftrats to pluck down thefe places of abufe, that God may be honored and their confciences disburthened.

A wofull
fpectacle.

Cock feight-
ing upon the
fabaoth.

Befids thefe exercifes, thei flock, thick and three fold, to the cockfeights, an exercyfe nothing inferiour to the reft, wher nothing is ufed but fwering, forfwering, deceit, fraude, collufion, cofenage, fcoulding, railing, convitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarrelling, drinking, whooring; and, which is worft of all, robbing of one an other of their goods, and that not by direct, but indirect means and attempts:

and yet to blaunch and fet out thefe mischiefs withall (as though they were vertues) thei have their appointed daies and fet hours, when thefe devilries muſt be exerciſed. They have houſes erected to the purpoſe, flags and enſignes hanged out, to give notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim the fame, to th'end that many may come to the dedication of this ſolemne feaſt of miſchief: the Lord ſupplant them! And as for hawking and hunting upon the ſabaoth day, it is an exerciſe upon that day no leſſe unlawfull than the other; for no man ought to ſpend any day of his life, much leſſe every day in his life, as many do, in ſuch vaine and ydle paſtimes: wherfore let gentlemen take heed; for, be ſure, accounts muſt be given at the day of judgement for every minut of time, both how they have ſpent it, and in what exerciſes. And let them be ſure no more libertie is given them to miſpend an howre, or one jote of the Lord his goods, than is given to the pooreſt and meaneſt perſon that liveth upon the face of the earth. I never read of any, in the volume of the ſacred ſcripture, that was a good man and a hunter.

Appointed
times for
exerciſe of
dyvelries.

Hawking and
hunting uppon
the ſabaoth.

No more
libertie given
to one man
than another
for miſpend-
ing of their
goods.

Eſau was a great hunter, but a reprobate; Iſmaell a great hunter, but a miſcreant; Nemrode, a great hunter, but yet a reprobate and a veſſell of wrath. Thus I ſpeake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being uſed for recreation, now and than, but againſt the continually uſe therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time of their life without intermiſſion. And ſuch a felicitie have ſome in it, as they make it all their joye, beſtowing more upon hawkes and hounds, and a fort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one yeer, than they will impart to the poore members of Chriſt Jeſus in vii yeers, peradventure, in

No good
hunters in
ſcripture.

Coſt beſtowed
in hauks and
dogges.

When all
beasts weare
obedient to
man, and
wherefore they
rebell.

all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradise perfit in innocency, all beasts what so ever weare obedient to him, and came and prostrated themselves before him; but ever since his fall they have fled from him, and disobeyd him, because of his sin; that seeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeyed him. For so long as man obeyed God, so long they obeyed him, but so soone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, and became enemies to him; as it were, seeking to revenge the injurie which man had done unto God in disobeying his lawes. Wherefore the cause why all beasts do fly from us, and are become enemies to us, is our disobedience to the Lord, which we are rather to sorrow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the shedding of their blood.

For pleasure
fake only no
man ought to
abuse any of
the creatures of
God.

If necessity, or want of other meats inforceth us to seek after their lives, it is lawfull to use them, in the feare of God, with thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a Christian man, or rather a pseudo-Christian, that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and pleasure delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth up the corne of the poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a Christian that liveth to the hurt of his neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, or otherwise in prejudicing him, as hunters doo? Wherefore God gave them grace to see to it, and to mend it betimes ere it be too late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let us not deferre to leave the evil and to doo good, lest the wrath of the Lord be kindled against us, and consume us from the upper face of the earth.

Hurt by
hunting to
poor men.

Spud. What say you to keeping of markets, fayres, and courtes, and leetes upon the fabaoth day? Think you it is not lawfull to use the same upon any day?

Not lawfull to keep courts leet, markets and fayres, on the fabaoth day.

Philo. No truly; for can you serve God and the devil together? Can wee carrie to God and ferrie to the devil? Can we serve two maisters, and neither offend the one nor the other? Can wee serve God and mammon? Can we please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord will not be served by peccemeale; for either he will have the whole man, or else none: for faith he, "Thou shalt loove the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall thy power, withall thy strength," and so forth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to give over our selves wholly and totally to the service of God al the daies of our life, but especially upon the fabaoth day, being consecrate to that end, we may not intermedle with these prophane exercises upon that day. For it is more then manifest that these fayres, markets, courtes, and leetes, upon the fabaoth day, are not only a hinderance unto us in the true service of God, and an abuse of the fabaoth, but also lead us the path way to hel. For what cofenage is not there practised? what falshod, deceit, and fraude is not there exercised? what dissimulation in bargaining? what setting forth of fucate and decevable wares is not there frequented? what lying, fwering, forswering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, and sometimes murther, either there or by the way thither, is not every where used? In courtes and leetes what envie, malice, and hatred is noorished? what expostulation, railing, scoulding, perjuring, and reperjuring is maintained? what oppression of the poore, what favouring the rich, what injustice and indirecť dealing? what bribing, deceiving,

Abuse of the fabaoth by fayres, markets.

The evill in fayres and markets.

The evils in courtes and leetes practised.

what polling and pilling is there practised? It would make a Christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we must have goodly pageants played upon the fabaoth day (in a wanion), because there are no mo daies in the week. And heerby the fabaoth is contaminat, Gods woord contemned, his commandements difanulled, his sacraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, and, *in summa*, his blood trod under feet, and all mischeef maintained. The Lord cut of these, with all other sin, both from their foules and thy fabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and the Church truely edified!

Spud. Is the playing at football, reding of mery bookes, and such like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the fabaoth day?

Ph. Any exercife which withdraweth from godlines, either upon the fabaoth or any other day els, is wicked and to be forbidden. Now, who is so grossly blinde, that seeth not that these aforefaid exercifes not only withdraw us from godlines and vertue, but also haile and allure us to wickednes and sin. For as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; a bloody and murthering practife, then a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his aduersarie, seeking to overthrowe him and to picke him on his nose, though it be uppon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? So that by this meanes sometimes their necks are broken, sometimes their backs, sometime their legs, sometime their armes; sometime one part

Playing at
foot-ball.

Foot-ball a
freendly kind
of fight.

Hurt by foot-
ball playing.

thurst out of joynt, sometime an other; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out; and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best goeth not scotfree, but is either fore wounded, craised, and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundered such murdering devices: and hereof groweth envie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

Foot-ball
playing a mur-
thering play.

Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the sabaoth day? is this a Christian dealing for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that upon prepened malice, or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodies of our brethren!

And as for the reading of wicked bookes, they are utterly unlawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; and that not (onely) upon the sabaoth day, but also uppon any other day; as which tend to the dishonour of God, depravation of good manners, and corruption of christian soules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomach, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and ungodly bookes (which are to the minde as meat is to the body) infect the soule, and corrupt the minde, hailing it to distruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.

Reading of
wicked
bookes.

The evil
comming by
reding evil
bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whosoever wil fet pen to paper now a dayes, how unhoneft soever, or unseemly of christian eares his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his work plausibly admitted and frendly licensed, and gladly imprinted without any prohibition or contradiction at all : wherby it is growen to this issue, that bookes and pamphlets of scurrilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible then the godlyest and sagest bookes that be : for if it be a godly treatise, reproving vice and teaching vertue, away with it ! for no man (almost) though they make a flourish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the Bible, the blessed Book of God, to be so little esteemed ; that woorthie Booke of Martyrs, made by that famous father and excellent instrument in God his church, maister John Fox, so little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be revered ; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are suffered to be printed. These prophane schedules, sacralegious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes and bableries (the authors wherof may venerate to them selves no smal commendations at the hands of the diuel for inventing the same) corrupt mens mindes, pervert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, suppress vertue and erect vice : which thing how should it be otherwise ? for are they not invented and excogitat by Belzebub, written by Lucifer, licensed by Pluto, printed by Cerberus, and set abroche to sale by the infernal furies themselves, to the poysoning of the whole world ? But let the inventors, the licensors, the printers, and the sellers of these vaine toyes, and more then hethnicall impieties, take heed ; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt

thorow these wicked bookes, shalbe powred upon their heads at the day of judgement, and be requited at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might all these enormities and abuses be reformed? For it is to small purpose to shew the abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed.

Philo. By putting in practice and executing those good lawes, wholsome fancies, and godly statutes, which have beene heretofore, and daily are, set foorth and established, as God be thanked, they are manie. The want of due execution wherof is the cause of all these mischiefs, which both rage and raigne amongst us.

Spud. What is the cause why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truly, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the negligence and contempt of the inferiour magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, disfranchised and dispensed withall; for, as the saying is, *quid non pecunia potest*: what is it but money will bring to passe? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don invisibly in a clowde (under *benedicite* I speak it) the prince being borne in hand that the same are dalie executed. This fault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to see them executed, as I have tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

Spud. This is a great corruption and abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

Ph. It is so truly; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publique weale of the cuntry and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre,

godlynes for droffe, yea, mens foules for corruptible money? Therefore, those that sell them are not onely traitors to God, to their prince and countrey, but are also the devils marchants, and ferrie the bodies and foules of Christians, as it were, in Charons boate to the Stigian flood of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for ever.

And those that buy them are traitors to God, their prince, and countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al the lawes in Ailgna be), why should they be suppressed for money? and if they were evill, why were they divulged, but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their mother before th[e]y had ever seene the light.

And why were lawes instituted, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to have no lawes at all (the people lyving orderly) as to have good lawes, and them not executed.

The prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale and adnull the same againe, upon speciall causes and considerations, but no inferiour magistrat or subiecte what so ever may stop the course of any lawe made by the prince without daunger of damnation to his owne soule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

And therefore, woe be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so godly and christian as they be in Ailgna) upon malefactors and offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as ever was Judas of the death of Christe Jesus.

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is such abomination amongest them, I am perswaded the daye of judgement is not farre of; for when iniquity shall have filled up his

measure, than shall the end of all appeare, as Christ witnesseth in his Evangelic.

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of, that is most certain; for what wonderfull portents, strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull judgements hath he sente of late daies, as preachers and fortellers of his wrath, due unto us for our impenitence and wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the same earth to remoove from place to place? the seas and waters to roare, swell, and brust out, and overflow their bankes to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the elements and skyes to send forth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as ever was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull eclypses in the sunne and moon, with most dreadfull conjunctions of starres and planets, as the like this thousand yeeres hath not been heard of? have not the clowdes distilled downe abundance of rayne and shewres, with all kinde of unseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges uppon the earth? have we not seene commets, blasing starres, fire drakes, men fighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? hath not dame Nature her selfe denied unto us her operation in sending forth abortives, untimely births, ugglefome monsters and fearfull mishapen creatures, both in man and beast? So that it seemeth all the creatures of God are angry with us, and threaten us with destruction, and yet we are nothing at all amended (alas) that shal become of us! Remember we not there is a God that shal judge us righteously? that there is a Devill who shal torment us after this lyfe unspeakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shal find that there is a material hell, a place of all kinds

of tortures, wherein they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongst the terrible company of ugglesome Devills, world without end, how light so ever they make account of it in this world.

For some such there be that, when they heare mention of hell, or of the paines therof in the other world, they make a mocke at it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, onely spoken to terrifie us withall, not otherwyse. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his children, so there is a Devill that will remunerat his servaunts; and as there is a Heaven, a materiall place of perfect joye prepared for the godly, so there is a Hell, a materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobat, prepared for the Devil and his angels, or els the word of God is in no wyse to be credited; which blasphemie once to think God keep all his children from!

Spud. But they will easily avoid this; for they say it is writ, at what time so ever a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, I wil put all his sin out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. So that, if they maye have three words at the last, they will with no more. What think you of these felowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but devills; no Christians, but worse than Tartarians, and more to be avoided than the poison of a serpent; for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body and soul for ever. Wherefore let every good christen man take heed of them, and avoid them; for it is truly said *cum bonis bonus eris, et cum perverfis perverteris*: with the good thou shalt learne good, but with the wicked thou shalt be perverted.

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Ph. No, truly; for true repentance must spring out of a lively faith, with an inward loathing, hating, and detesting of sinne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he seeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the horror of hell, and feare of God his inevitable judgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therefore this can be no true repentance; for there is two maner of repentances, the one a true repentance to life, the other a false repentance to death. As we maye see by Judas, who is said to have repented, and, which is more, to have confessed his faulte, and, which is most of all, to have made restitution, and yet was it a false repentance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

Peter repented and wept bitterly, and was saved thereby, though he neither made confession nor satisfaction; and why? Because it sprang of a true and lively faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a true repentance, springing of faith, it can serve them no more to life, than the pretended repentance of Judas did serve him to salvation.

Let them beware, for Cain repented, yet is he condemned. Esau did repent, yet is he condemned; Antiochus did repent, yet is he condemned; Judas did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite more. And why so? Because their prolonged repentance sprang not of faith, &c.

Thus they may see, that every light affection is no true repentance, and that it is not ynough to say at the last, I repent, I repent; for unles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare so that man had

liberum arbitrium, free wil of himself to repent truely when he wold, and that God promised in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the giste of God, *de sursum veniens a patre luminum*, comming from above from the Father of light, and therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giveth the gift, when, where, and to whom it pleaseth him ; and of him are we to crave it incessantly by faithfull prayer, and not otherwise to presume of our repentance, when, indeed, we have nothing lesse than a true repentance.

Spud. Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as a true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and sorrow of the heart, conceived for our sinnes, with a hatred and lothing of the same) [f]erveth to salvation thorow the mercie of God in Christ, so, fained repentance saveth not from perdition. And, therfore, we must repent dayly and howrely, and not deferre our repentaunce to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is ; for may not he be called a great foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast (as they say) will hazard his body and soule to eternall damnation for ever? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he may assure him selfe both of the favour of God, and life everlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the most precious blood of his deare Sonne, Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour and Redemer, to whome be praise for ever!

All things are
vaine and
vanitie it selfe.

Spud. Now must I needs say, as the wyfe king Salomon said, all things are vaine and transitorie, and nothing is permanent under the sonne: the workes of men are unperfect

and lead to destruction, their exerceyses are vaine and wicked altogether.

Wherefore I, setting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth consecrate my selfe to the service of my God, and to follow him in his woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth unto life.

And I most hartelic thanke the Lord God for your good company this day, and for your grave instructions; promising, by the assistance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God give you grace so to do, and every Christen man els, and to avoid all the vanities and deceivable pleasures of this life; for certainly they tread the path to eternal destruction, both of body and soule for ever, to as many as obey them.

The joyes of
this life tread
the path to
death.

For it is unpossible to wallowe in the delights and pleasures of this world, and to lyve in joy for ever in the kingdom of heaven. And thus we, having spent the daye, and also consummate our journey, we must now depart, beseeching God that we may both meete againe in the kingdome of Heaven, there to raigne and lyve with him for ever, through
Jesus Christe our Lorde; to whome, with the

Father and the holy Spirit, be

all honour and glorie

for ever more.

Amen.

FINIS.

FAULTS ESCAPED IN PRINTING.

Letter	Page	Line	Fault	Correction
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xj	5	what is ther	whatthingisthere
In D	xj	3	<i>initimur</i>	<i>nitimur</i>
In D	xiiij	9	<i>tantæ meriades</i>	<i>tantæque meryades</i>
In D	xv	16	fupplyed	applied
In F	i	19	read thus :	
			<i>Spud.</i> I pray you shew me the opinions of the Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.	
In F	ix	3	Antiquities	Antiques
In F	xvj	5	pefterning	peftering
In I	iiij	26	refug meat	refufe meate
In I	iiij	27	patrings	parings
In I	viiij	16	<i>appetitum</i>	<i>appetitui</i>

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